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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

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## CONTENTS

29 DECEMBER 1987

### NEAR EAST

#### JORDAN

Prince Hasan Discusses Economic Plans, Aid to West Bank [Hasan ibn Tallal Interview; <i>AL-HAWADITH</i> 20 Nov 87]	1
Decrease Reported in Sales of Oil Refinery [Amman <i>AL-DUSTUR</i> , 14 Nov 87]	4
Students To Enroll in Romanian Universities Announced [Amman <i>AL-DUSTUR</i> , 13 Nov 87]	4
Minister States Economic Policies, Makes Recommendations [JORDAN ECONOMIC MONITOR, Nov 87]	5
Magazine Reports Wells Dug, Areas of Oil Prospecting [JORDAN ECONOMIC MONITOR, Nov 87]	5

#### KUWAIT

Antimissile Reflectors To Be Installed [Lima Al Khalafawi; <i>Kuwait ARAB TIMES</i> , 5-6 Nov 87]	6
Commercial Ties With Greece To Expand [ <i>ARAB TIMES</i> , 2 Nov 87]	7
Review of Economic Developments [ <i>ARAB TIMES</i> , 14 Nov 87]	8

#### LEBANON

Fadlallah Blames U.S. for 'Failure' of Arab Summit [AL-SAFIR, 16 Nov 87]	10
Power Struggle, Takeover Attempt in Shiite Movement Reviewed ['Ali Ballut; <i>AL-QABAS</i> , 3 Nov 87]	11
Senior Amal Leader Reveals Closely-Held Views [Dawud Dawud Interview; <i>AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI</i> , 26 Oct 87]	13
Shams-al-Din Considers 'Democracy of Majority' Inevitable [Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din Interview; <i>AL-TADAMUN</i> , 7-13 Nov 87]	21
Sa'adah Comments on 'Syrian Presence,' Current Government [George Sa'adah Interview, <i>AL-TADAMUN</i> , 7-13 Nov 87]	23

#### SAUDI ARABIA

Magazine Laments 'Vicious' Misrepresentation of Islam in West [AL-DA'WAH, 12 Oct 87]	25
Telex Equipment Worth SR65 Million to Bangladesh [ <i>ARAB NEWS</i> , 12 Nov 87]	30

#### SUDAN

Assessment of Muslim Brothers Threat [Alfred Logune Taban; <i>HERITAGE</i> , 2 Nov 87]	31
SAP Joint Charter Published [ <i>HERITAGE</i> , 12 Oct 87]	32

#### SYRIA

Electricity Seminar Discusses New Energy Trends [Damascus <i>AL-BA'TH</i> , 23 Oct 87]	32
--	----

#### UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Lubricant Blending Plant Opened [ <i>KHALEEJ TIMES</i> , 19 Nov 87]	36
Move To Cut Import Costs Noted [ <i>KHALEEJ TIMES</i> , 20 Nov 87]	36
Rise in Prices of Raw Materials [ <i>KHALEEJ TIMES</i> , 17 Nov 87]	37
Silo Facilities Constructed [ <i>KHALEEJ TIMES</i> , 9 Nov 87]	38

### SOUTH ASIA

#### REGIONAL

Siachen Importance to India, Pakistan Noted [ <i>THE WEEK</i> , 14 Nov 87]	41
--	----

## BANGLADESH

Four Parties Join To Form New Political Front	[ <i>THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER</i> , 25 Oct 87]	42
More Details on Arrest of Opposition Leaders	[ <i>THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER</i> , 26 Oct 87]	42
Ministry Predicts Shortfall in Jute Production		
[ <i>Syed Badiuzzaman; THE NEW NATION</i> , 22 Oct 87]	.....	43
Paper Reports Interview With Foreign Minister	.....	44
SAARC, Other Matters	[ <i>THE NEW NATION</i> , 26 Oct 87]	44
Planned Moscow Visit	[ <i>Fazle Rashid; THE NEW NATION</i> , 26 Oct 87]	45
New Cuban Ambassador	[ <i>THE NEW NATION</i> , 24 Oct 87]	45
Ambassador to Saudis	[ <i>THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER</i> , 29 Oct 87]	45

## INDIA

Commentaries Criticize Government Policy in Assam	.....	46
Student Unrest	[ <i>Ramesh Menon; INDIA TODAY</i> , 15 Oct 87]	46
Government Apathy	[ <i>Ramesh Menon; INDIA TODAY</i> , 31 Oct 87]	46
Troop Deployment of India, China Triples	[ <i>THE WEEK</i> , 14 Nov 87]	48
Gandhi Interviewed on Communalism, Domestic Problems		
[Udayan Sharma; <i>SUNDAY</i> , 21 Nov 87]	.....	49
Convention Against Communalism, Separatism Meets in Delhi	[ <i>THE HINDU</i> , 13 Oct 87]	52
West Bengal Assembly Adopts Hill Council Bill	[ <i>THE TIMES OF INDIA</i> , 16 Oct 87]	54
CPI Leader Scores RSS, BJP in 'New Age' Article	[ <i>THE TIMES OF INDIA</i> , 16 Oct 87]	54
CPI-M Issues Communiqué on Politburo Meeting	[ <i>THE TIMES OF INDIA</i> , 12 Oct 87]	55
Further Reportage on Asian Relations Conference	.....	56
Dalai Lama's Representative	[ <i>THE SUNDAY STATESMAN</i> , 4 Oct 87]	56
Soviet Delegate's Press Conference	[ <i>THE SUNDAY STATESMAN</i> , 4 Oct 87]	57
Long-Term Quota Policy for Garment Exports	[ <i>THE HINDU</i> , 16 Oct 87]	58
Gorkha Unrest in West Bengal Continues	.....	59
Fresh Agitation	[ <i>Kamaljeet Rattan; INDIA TODAY</i> , 30 Nov 87]	59
Interview With Basu	[ <i>Jyoti Basu Interview; INDIA TODAY</i> , 30 Nov 87]	60

## IRAN

South Africa Strengthening Ties to IRI	[ <i>London KEYHAN</i> , 29 Oct 87]	60
IRI Reportedly Selling Oil to USSR in Exchange for Weapons	[ <i>London KEYHAN</i> , 29 Oct 87]	61
Rents Reportedly Double in Six Months	[ <i>London KEYHAN</i> , 5 Nov 87]	62
Gulf War Seen Profitable for IRI's Neighbors	[ <i>London KEYHAN</i> , 5 Nov 87]	63
IRI Biggest Provider of Oil to Turkey	[ <i>London KEYHAN</i> , 5 Nov 87]	64
Relations Intact with Most Gulf Nations in Spite of War	[ <i>London KEYHAN</i> , 5 Nov 87]	64

## PAKISTAN

Reentry into Commonwealth, India's Stand Discussed	[ <i>NAWA-I-WAQT</i> , 10 Oct 87]	65
Benazir Bhutto Reportedly Revising Views on Party Policies	[ <i>NAWA-I-WAQT</i> , 29 Sep 87]	65
Pakistan Criticized for Releasing Soviet Helicopter Pilots	[ <i>NAWA-I-WAQT</i> , 8 Oct 87]	66
Suggestions To Delay Local Elections Term 'Improper'	[ <i>NAWA-I-WAQT</i> , 2 Oct 87]	67
Government Urged To Hold Local Elections on Schedule	[ <i>JASARAT</i> , 5 Oct 87]	68
Asghar Khan's Action Seen Causing Party Defections	[ <i>NAWA-I-WAQT</i> , 2 Oct 87]	69
Steps Urged To Promote Science, Technology	[ <i>NAWA-I-WAQT</i> , 10 Oct 87]	69

## SRI LANKA

Eyewitness Accounts Given of Jaffna Violence	.....	70
IPKF Commander Interview	[ <i>S.H. Venkatramani; INDIA TODAY</i> , 15 Nov 87]	70
Photographer Recounts Battles	[ <i>Shyam Tekwani; INDIA TODAY</i> , 15 Nov 87]	71
Indian Officers See More Difficulties		
[Dilip Bobb, S.H. Venkatramani, M. Rehman; <i>INDIA TODAY</i> , 15 Nov 87]	.....	73

## JORDAN

**Prince Hasan Discusses Economic Plans, Aid to West Bank**  
*44040034a London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic*  
20 Nov 87 pp 12-13

[Interview with Crown Prince Hasan ibn Tallal by Walid Abu Murshid: "The Repercussions of Lebanon's Economic Crisis Could Extend Beyond Lebanon; We Borrow Only To Serve Our Development Objectives; There Is Evidence That Jordan Has Oil and Gas;" date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Arab journalists have a special feeling for Prince Hasan ibn Tallal, the crown prince of Jordan. He is an intellectual, a well-informed man, and a first class conversationalist. Everyone inside or outside the Kingdom of Jordan knows that Prince Hasan has turned his leadership position into one of public responsibility for the people and the land on both sides of the river. That sense of responsibility stems from the prince's keen awareness of the role that economic affairs play in supporting public, political and social affairs.

It is Prince Hasan's interest in economic affairs that induced AL-HAWADITH to ask him to grant it a comprehensive interview on the economy. The prince was kind enough to respond [to the magazine's questions] as follows:

[Question] Over a period of 3 consecutive days you sponsored and were in charge of the conference on development which was held in Amman early in November of 1986. That showed the extent of Your Highness's interest in economic affairs in the kingdom. Now that it's been 1 year since the plan was announced, [would you tell us], first, did the plan succeed in achieving the objectives that were set for it during that year?

[Answer] Actually, the studies which are being conducted by the Ministry of Planning to evaluate the first year of the plan have not come out yet. But it is known that in general the plan's estimated achievements for the first year in particular were modest. A 5 percent rate of growth was being sought for the 5-Year Plan, and a 3 percent rate of growth was sought for the first year. Preliminary figures indicate that the 1987 growth rate will be very close to the figure that was being sought in the plan and almost equal to the growth rate in the population. If we were to go back a little and compare growth figures that were achieved during the first year of previous plans with the total figure that was being sought by those plans, we will find that what this plan accomplished is generally satisfactory. I would like to point out here that my basic function in overseeing development in Jordan is one of planning and guidance. The slogan of the development conference, which was held last year, was "Toward Regional and International Cooperation." I believe that Jordan has made considerable progress in that regard. Because of its moderate stance, its positions,

and its friendly relations with all parties, we are primarily interested in making Jordan become a bridge and a center for regional cooperation in the Red Sea region in particular and in the Middle East area in general. We are always in touch with regional and international economic meetings so we can create a spirit of economic cooperation in the Arab homeland. We want that spirit of economic cooperation between the Arab homeland and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], and we want it especially with the European Community and Japan. Through our contacts and the political ideas we set forth we managed to get the Japanese government to comply with our request to earmark 300 million dollars in easy-term loans, and that will help strengthen Jordan's role as a site for regional development in the region.

[Question] Second, have funding sources for the 5 years of the plan been guaranteed? What are those sources?

[Answer] Obtaining funding for development plans in Jordan is a continuous and multi-faceted effort. Jordan obtains funds for its investments which are listed in its 5-year plans from numerous sources, the most important of which are friendly Arab countries; national, regional and international investment funds; international institutions; and friendly governments. In this plan we are also trying to attract direct investments in feasible Jordanian projects. In that regard we amended the law which encourages investment and advances the notion of science and technology leading to investments in that growing sector. This was done to provide an appropriate climate in this regard. Also, many bilateral agreements have been signed with Arab countries to establish joint investment projects. Conferences for expatriates have also been set in motion in order to deal with obstacles expatriates face and to encourage them to steer more investments into their country. Available indicators show that the volume of remittances from Jordanians working abroad has not declined. Contrary to some expectations, those remittances increased.

With regard to the question of financing, the primary observation that has to be made here has to do with the rigorous task of dividing available financial resources between investment spending and current spending. This has to be done despite a general decline in economic conditions in the area after oil prices fell, despite Jordan's social and economic burdens in the occupied Arab territories, and despite its responsibility to deal with the burdens of economic recession in the region. I should not forget to mention here that it is perhaps ironic that the success of our development programs has resulted in Jordan being classified as an advanced, developing country. This means that Jordan is not eligible for receiving aid but is more eligible for obtaining loans. Some of these loans are available at commercial rates, but we always try to find the means and ways to set the investment process itself on the right track and stimulate regional cooperation, and that provides adequate economic justification for capital investments and for the

funds we borrow. In summary, I can say that despite difficulties our reputation and financial standing in the Arab and international communities are still quite good. That is why I am confident that the funds which are required to finance the 5-Year Plan from local and foreign sources are to a large degree guaranteed.

[Question] Third, has implementation of a development plan for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip been started despite the Israeli occupation? What are the obstacles standing in the way of implementing such a development plan?

[Answer] We have been aware from the outset of the problems standing in the way of implementing the economic and social development program for the occupied Arab territories. These problems were mentioned in detail in the written version of the program. Development plans for the occupied Arab territories are drafted in Jordan, but the capability for implementing those plans is directly tied to the occupation authorities. That is why the sectors and priorities we selected for the development program are consistent with the basic needs of our people there, according to our studies of their requirements and our financing schedules for those requirements over the past years. We tried to classify these priorities in the development plan, and we tried to place them in a meaningful and purposeful integrated context to reinforce our people's steadfastness and strengthen their ability to resist the occupation. We want to make it impossible for the occupation authorities to get our people out of their land and replace them with Jewish settlers and emigrants. That is why the development program stressed the sectors of education, health, social work, housing, industry, and agriculture. If we were to check the files of the Ministry of Occupied Territories' Affairs and those of other Jordanian agencies which used to remit funds to support the people's steadfastness, and if we were also to check the funding categories which guided the joint committee, we would find that these funds were being spent in those sectors that are mentioned in the current development program.

In preparing such a development program we found an opportunity to increase Arab and international support and funding for our people, and to a certain extent we managed to attract some funding for the program which could not have materialized otherwise. In this regard we have to bear in mind that Israel is always trying to get funds for itself under the pretext of improving the standard of living for our people who are living under the occupation. Employment opportunities which are made available by the Israeli economy to our people on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip are ones that our people have to accept because they are pressed by need and by the economic siege which is imposed on them. These jobs contribute directly to separating the people from their land and increasing their dependence on Israel, and that makes them an easy prey in the future to attempts to force them out of their land and out of their country.

[Question] Fourth, was there a deliberate attempt to give the public sector a more favorable role in the plan than the private sector's? If that is the case, why was that done?

[Answer] When we talk about discriminating between the public and private sectors, we must talk about investment in the general sense and not about infrastructure projects which are underway in the areas of irrigation, electricity, roads, and the telecommunications system. As you know, Jordan is now in the process of converting some public sector institutions into private sector ones. That is why many of the investments which are listed in the plan as public sector investments will in fact become private sector investments. Accordingly, if we were to reclassify the investments in the plan, we would find that the private sector has a bigger role. In addition, it must be said that those countries which are asking us to encourage the private sector and give it a bigger role in the plan are not offering loans to private sector projects unless they are guaranteed by the government. That is why the government's role in the development process and in the establishment and development of the infrastructure remains a fundamental role. But as far as direct development projects in agriculture, industry, and tourism, for instance, are concerned, you will notice that the plan emphasized the private sector. To cite only one example of this, vast areas of land in the southeastern regions of the kingdom are being leased to set up a variety of agricultural projects. That is why bottom line figures should not be used to judge the extent of the government's interest in the private sector's role in development.

[Question] Is there any thought being given to replacing the development plan with a Jordanian-Palestinian program that the Joint Committee would adopt?

[Answer] Let me emphasize a fact that everyone knows. Jordan has never deviated from the Arab consensus. In fact, Jordan has always been one of the principal proponents of that consensus. But as far as funding development projects in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is concerned, Jordan would welcome any positive contribution to support the steadfastness of the people there and to place the proper priority on giving the people there the right to maintain their identity and preserve their land. Jordan would welcome Arab contributions in particular as long as they serve that basic strategic objective, which we are striving for in devising this development program.

[Question] Jordan's foreign debt service record is an excellent one. Western financial and banking sources themselves can attest to that. This year, however, the cost of servicing those debts could reach 13 percent. Are officials giving any thought to obtaining government loans despite that?

[Answer] Jordan has always had an international reputation for meeting and honoring its obligations. That is why in the world's current climate of deteriorating indebtedness, Jordan continues to receive offers for funds from various agencies. It is my opinion that loans are offered in the first place so that the maximum benefit can be obtained from them. Otherwise, what would be the justification for borrowing? A judicious borrower is one who continues to enjoy the privilege of borrowing money because he invests the funds he borrows wisely in accordance with proper and productive priorities. Jordan does not have large natural resources that are utilized, and, like most developing countries, we suffer from a shortage in the volume of financial resources which are available for development. Quite simply, we borrow money when we find an appropriate loan that serves our development objectives. But we know about the higher cost of servicing the public debt, and that does not scare us because the principle of the debt service rate in a development project is analogous to a numerator and a denominator. Whereas the numerator reflects the volume of payments in a given year, the denominator is the value of goods and services exported. It is the function of development to increase the denominator. However, if circumstances require an increase in the numerator, we will accept such an increase temporarily to provide the funding that is required for the development process. To us, loans are a means and not an end in themselves. Our financial and fiscal policy operatives are keeping a close watch on this matter; they know the boundaries which they must be bound by so that Jordan can continue to maintain its economic independence and its ability to grow.

[Question] THE FINANCIAL TIMES did mention that Jordanian officials might devalue the Jordanian dinar deliberately for the following reasons:

- A decline in foreign currency reserves;
- A decline in remittances from Jordanians working abroad; [and]
- The fact that Saudi Arabia's contribution to the support funds for Jordan, which were approved at the Baghdad [Summit] Conference in 1978, is the only one that has hitherto been received.

How accurate are the newspaper's predictions about the devaluation of the dinar, and what will be the effect of these factors on Jordan's economy?

[Answer] In his address opening the fifth regular session of Jordan's Parliament, His Royal Majesty the King indicated that Jordan had achieved major economic accomplishments, despite the difficult circumstances which the region has been experiencing. He cited the strength and stability of the Jordanian dinar as evidence of the Jordanian economy's structural strength. That strength is a reflection of the kingdom's sound reserves, the shrinking deficit in the balance of trade, and the fact

that a savings in the balance of payments has been achieved. In Jordan, we regard a stable exchange rate for the dinar a basic feature of the Jordanian economy because a stable exchange rate for the dinar is more beneficial for Jordan economically.

To our people in the occupied West Bank, to Jordanians working abroad, and to Jordanians living in Jordan the Jordanian dinar is a basic savings instrument. They have great confidence in the dinar's ability to maintain the value of their savings in the future. Our people in the occupied Arab territories keep the dinar and get rid of the Israeli currency immediately. Jordanian citizens abroad convert almost 1 billion dollars a year into dinars. The bulk of their deposits in Jordanian banks—and these deposits exceed 2 billion dollars—is in dinars. Do you think it would be appropriate to sacrifice this confidence for temporary commercial profits at a time when we have a surplus in our balance of payments?

You said that Jordan has a [favorable] reputation in the world as a borrower. Since 1967 we've demonstrated our ability to make successful adjustments to new economic conditions. We have used all the scientific means as well as traditional and non-traditional instruments to confront these conditions, and we succeeded in overcoming difficulties without ever affecting the exchange rate for the Jordanian dinar. Why then should we change that now?

[Question] What is the current status of the proposed pipeline project which is to run from Iraq to the port of al-'Aqabah?

[Answer] Studies for this proposed project are still underway, and they are being conducted with an eye on fraternal Iraq's needs in that regard. However, Jordan's previous development plan did have a project to extend an oil pipeline from the Jordanian refinery to the port of al-'Aqabah. If the existence of [sufficient] quantities of oil in Jordan is established, God willing, Jordan will have to lay that pipeline to provide areas in south Jordan with oil for export if there is sufficient volume to justify that. If such a pipeline is built, it could be used to export oil to Iraq and to other fraternal Arab countries.

[Question] What has become of Jordan's wager that oil and gas would be found? Is it possible to expect Jordan to achieve self-sufficiency in oil and gas in the near future?

[Answer] Preliminary evidence indicates that there are limited quantities of crude oil and gas, and a project to utilize the confirmed amounts of natural gas is now being outlined. Also, the small amounts of oil which have been discovered are being extracted now and sold to the Jordanian Oil Refinery. In both cases, however, we still need a significant number of exploratory and investigative studies to ascertain the amount of natural gas or crude oil in Jordan. It is difficult at this time to estimate how much oil and gas we have before these

studies are completed. So far, three international companies have signed agreements to look for crude oil in Jordan. I believe that these companies would not have made such an investment if there had been no justification for it.

[Question] You had a meeting in New York with Lebanon's President Amin al-Jumayyil. Did he propose an Arab economic initiative for Lebanon to your excellency?

[Answer] We have an interest in developments in Lebanon's economic events and in the negative effects they have, and our interest in that is comparable to our interest in the entire Lebanese question. Part of our regional and international efforts is devoted to support the Lebanese economy. We are also trying to work with our fellow Arabs in Lebanon to come up with the means and ways to alleviate the effects of economic pressures there. We are making plans for a forum that will be held in Amman in the near future to talk about this important topic, but I believe that it would be more certain and more beneficial if Lebanon's economic question were set forth from our regional and international perspective as a separate issue. We take every opportunity we have in the course of our regional and international contacts to press the need to help Lebanon get out of its economic crisis. If that crisis gets worse than it is now, its effects could reach beyond Lebanon's borders, thereby contributing to further instability in the region and in the Arab world. We would most certainly welcome any positive step that could alleviate this economic crisis and limit its effects on Lebanese territory.

[Question] What are you doing to sell surplus agricultural production from the Jordan Valley, and are you running into obstacles abroad in your efforts in that regard?

[Answer] As you know we invested large sums of money over the past 2 decades in the Jordan Valley to develop that area on the basis of integrated regional development. These efforts were reflected in that area's economic and social development. To a large extent that area is now attracting people to it, and irrigated farming has advanced in it considerably. Now a large part of the agricultural products which are needed is being met, and we have a good surplus that we can export. Until recently, we exported that surplus to our traditional markets in the Arabian Gulf states and Iraq. However, a few changes have occurred during the past few years: those countries which imported our surplus agricultural products have had comparable developments in their agricultural production, and new exporters have also entered the region's markets. Thus, exporting to those markets has become more difficult for us. In addition, we are also concerned about agricultural exports to the occupied Arab territories. Those exports contribute directly to reinforcing the steadfastness of our people on their land, thereby enabling them to confront the Israeli economic siege. That is why we confronted those changes with efforts that were aimed at the

domestic scene and others that were aimed at the foreign scene. On the domestic scene we organized agricultural production by applying an agricultural model and developing methods for grading, packaging, and wrapping products to help us market them in a better fashion. On the foreign scene we are intensifying our efforts to open new markets for our products in different parts of the world, such as the European Economic Community. We are also trying to preserve our traditional markets by looking into the internal procedures which they were subjected to in the past, and we are trying to invigorate our own marketing activities in those markets. We are satisfied with the results of our efforts to develop the Jordan Valley, to introduce modern agricultural technologies into it, and to develop dams and water resources in that valley. All this has led to an increase in production and productivity.

[Question] Many fellow journalists affirm that your numerous and varied activities plus your awareness of local and international public affairs go much beyond what the staff of your excellency's office can provide and contribute in those matters. That suggests that you are devoting the time and the interest which are necessary to keep up with such matters. Can you tell our readers how much time you devote every day to public affairs?

[Answer] God does help us all!

08592

#### Decrease Reported in Sales of Oil Refinery *Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 14 Nov 87 p 2*

[Text] Total sales of oil derivatives during the first 10 months of this year at the Jordanian Oil Refinery Company amounted to 2,421,749 metric tons, compared with 2,314,403 metric tons during the same period last year.

Company sources indicated that the company's sales during the first 10 months of this year grew. Sales of liquid gas products grew 8 percent; gas sales grew 1 percent; sales of aviation fuel grew 7 percent; gasoil sales grew 22 percent; diesel sales, 2 percent; fuel oil sales, 6 percent; and asphalt sales grew 1 percent. This indicates there was a 4 percent decline in (iftaj) sales.

08592

#### Students To Enroll in Romanian Universities Announced *Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 13 Nov 87 p 2*

[Article: "The Names of Students Admitted to Romanian Universities"]

[Text] The Ministry of Higher Education is asking the students whose names are listed below and who have been admitted in Romania to check with the ministry's Students Abroad Section during official working hours

next Monday. They are to bring with them the following documents: passports, military service certificates, and 55 dinars, which is the cost of a ticket.

These students are: Mahir Zaki Abu-al-Rish, 'Umar Khalil al-Qadi, Nidal Ja'far Abu Jalalah, Fakhri 'Ali al-'Awran, Husam Mahmud al-Banabitah, Jihad Ahmad al-Bustanji, Ma'mun Tawfiq Jaradat, Mahmud Husayn Khalil, Muhammad Mahmud [word missing], Husam Samih Hajjawi, Sa'id Sa'di al-Tamimi, Nasir 'Ali Abu Samihah, Muhammad Hani Sa'd-al-Din, 'Allam Ishaq Abu Shamis, Ibrahim Yusuf al-Mawsus, Muhammad 'Ata al-Lahham, Jihad Ahmad Nufal, Diya' Halsah, Ahmad Ibrahim Ahmad, Muhammad Ahmad al-Su'aybi, Kamal 'Abdu Salih, Bishar Mustafa al-Salih, Fawwaz Muhammad Abu 'Awwad, 'Abd-al-Salam 'Arif al-Qarm, Nabil Radwan Shawaqifah, 'Imad Ahmad Nur, Walid Mar'i Shar'an, Ma'mun Rida al-Kasasibah, 'Ammar Ziyad Abu Sabah, 'Ali Sa'id al-'Attar, Muhammad Ibrahim al-'Alamat, Khalil Muhammad Abu Shalhah, Khalid Fahd Sabha, 'Adil Anis al-Maqatish, Amjad 'Awad Ayyub, 'Alya' Isma'il Saqr, Muhammad Sa'id Abu Shalhah, 'Isam 'Arif al-Jinaydi, Muhammad Isma'il Saqr, Yusuf Muhammad al-'Amiri, Muhammad Mustafa 'Isa, 'Isa Maz'al al-Mahamid, Khaldun Fawwaz al-Sukkar, 'Isa Muhammad Radayidah, Muhammad Ibrahim Radayidah, Ilham Fawzi Jum'ah, and Muhammad Samih Hajjawi.

08592

**Minister States Economic Policies, Makes Recommendations**  
*42000016a Amman JORDAN ECONOMIC MONITOR in English Nov 87 p 1*

[Text] In a seminar held on October 14, the Minister of Industry and Trade, Dr. Rajai Muasher, spelled out the government's policies in the economic sector within the realm of his ministry. He disclosed future plans, explained and defined current economic policies, and called on the private sector to take advantage of these policies and shoulder more responsibilities.

\* Dr. Muasher suggested the establishment of a central unit to furnish badly needed information to the public and private sectors. But he did not say whether the proposed unit would be run by the public sector, or whether its establishment would result in abolishing the economic research departments in the Ministry of Planning, the Central Bank, the Royal Scientific Society, etc.

\* The minister called for setting up an independent union comprising of industrial and trade units in the private sector. But he did not say whether this body would be in charge of channeling American aid funds.

\* The minister recommended that a food department be set up and all government ministries and departments pool in their resources and maintain one authorised laboratory to determine the quality of food for human consumption. But he did not say who would run this department and what would be the role of the Ministry of Health and Municipalities which are now involved in the process.

\* The minister said the government had adopted a set of economic policies aimed at enhancing the role of the private sector in economic development. But he did not say the role was actually shrinking further and further as a result of excessive interventions.

\* The minister said the government had "corrected" the financial affairs of 18 troubled shareholding companies and was planning to "correct" the affairs of some others. But he did not reveal the cost of these government measures, whether real changes were brought about in the management of the concerned companies or the net outcome was a mere postponement of problems until grace periods run out.

\* The minister said the Ministry of supply was controlling prices of only 32 items of an estimated 3,0900. But he did not say that these 32 items represented 65 percent of the total consumption of the country.

\* The minister said the government was holding the monopoly of importing and distributing six basic commodities only to ensure that these products were available in the market at reasonable prices. But he did not say that the public sector was less efficient in this job than the private sector nor did he mention that some of these commodities, such as sugar and rice, were sold to the public with a 100 percent mark-up, and that if the government relinquished its control the prices could be slashed by half.

\* The minister said the investment climate in Jordan was ideal: political stability, strategic location, free enterprise system, the Arab Common Market, preferential treatment by the European Community, availability of skilled manpower, and government guidance and supervision whenever appropriate. But he did not explain why investments have not been forthcoming for the past five years if the climate was so ideal.

/9738

**Magazine Reports Wells Dug, Areas of Oil Prospecting**  
*44000016b Amman JORDAN ECONOMIC MONITOR in English Nov 87 p 6*

[Text]

**Wells Dug by Jordan's Natural Resources Authority (NRA)/Areas of Oil Prospecting Concessions**

Well	Rigs No.	Start	End	Depth
HZ-11	RP-3	22.10.85	23.02.86	3500
HZ-12	RP-2	11.11.85	13.02.86	3084
HZ-13	IDECO-7	18.12.85	19.04.86	3551
HZ-14	RP-2	15.03.86	02.07.86	3301
HZ-15	RP-2	10.07.86	10.11.86	3215
HZ-16	RP-2	19.11.86	06.02.87	3160 (2355)
WS-3	RP-1	13.05.86	30.01.87	4530 (4329)
RH-3	RP-3	18.03.86	08.09.86	
NH-1	RP-3	03.10.86		(2307)
HO-1	MAHEW	01.05.86	21.08.86	1570
HO-2	MAHEW	26.09.86	04.02.87	1728.5 (1339)

/9738

## KUWAIT

**Antimissile Reflectors To Be Installed**  
*44000011a Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English*  
5-6 Nov 87 p 1

[By Lima Al Khalafawi]

[Text] KUWAIT has started installing anti-missile reflectors to protect its oil installations, target of three missile attacks last month, Defence Minister Sheikh Salem Al Sabah said yesterday.

Sheikh Salem also told a local newspaper in an interview that Kuwait had found and detonated a floating mine in the Gulf this week.

Kuwait says Iran fired three Chinese-made Silkworm missiles at its coast, hitting two tankers and a key offshore oil export terminal.

### Deal

Sheikh Salem, outlining measures to deal with any future attack, said Kuwait had asked foreign experts for technical information on how to construct the reflectors.

"We have begun to implement them and deploy them in important and sensitive areas," he said. Diplomats said the reflectors were mounted on barges in the Gulf north of oil installations to lure radar-guided Silkworms onto dummy targets.

Sheikh Salem said there were no fully effective weapons against the Iranian Silkworms, which he said were of an advanced type.

But he said Kuwait sought to buy new anti-missile systems. "Our delegations are on the way abroad to look at these arms."

Kuwait already has US-made Hawk and Soviet Sam-7 anti-aircraft missiles and a sophisticated French early warning radar system. Some of the missiles were recently redeployed, Sheikh Salem said.

### Radar

He said that by the end of the year or middle of next year the radar system ordered two years ago would be fully operational. A naval radar system was included in next year's defence budget, he added.

Sheikh Salem said Kuwait had also decided in principle to buy minesweepers but did not say from whom. Around a dozen mines were found in the approach channel to its main oil terminal in May and Sheikh Salem said the Navy had found a floating mine two days ago and detonated it.

He did not say where the mine was except that it had floated in with the current. Kuwait in the past has said mines placed in the northern Gulf by either Iran or Iraq, at war for seven years, had floated into its waters.

### Brigade

Sheikh Salem said Kuwaiti forces had not spotted the Silkworm missile that struck its Sea Island oil terminal on October 22 because of haze. But he said his men were behind their weapons in a continuous state of alert.

The minister said Kuwait was laying the legal groundwork for a reserve Army which he hoped would constitute a full brigade in five or six years.

Kuwaiti women, he said, would one day fulfil military roles in addition to the civilian jobs they perform now.

In another interview, Sheikh Salem said, Kuwaiti forces fired two missiles at an unidentified flying object recently but the missiles hit nothing and exploded in mid-air.

## UFO

Sheikh Salem told Kuna the incident occurred when Kuwaiti forces spotted a UFO on their air-defence radar screens, but added the blip may in fact have been "an atmospheric quirk."

The UFO triggered Kuwait's defensive mechanism, on alert since Iran fired a Silkworm missile at the Sea Island oil terminal October 22, setting it ablaze. It was not mentioned when the incident occurred.

Sheikh Salem said Kuwaiti forces at first sighted a "friendly object" (presumably an aircraft) and asked it to leave Kuwaiti air space.

"But after it responded, we zeroed in on a strange object, which the friendly quarters denied knowing about." He said, "We then locked on with our radars, alarms went off, and when no response was forthcoming, we shot at it."

When "an unidentified object appears (on the radar screen), there is little time for consultations up the chain of command," and Kuwait's forces simply follow standing orders to shoot it down, Sheikh Salem said.

/12913

## Commercial Ties With Greece To Expand

44000011b Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English  
2 Nov 87 p 10

[Text] GREECE is trying to reinforce its economic cooperation with the Arab world to match its support for Arab rights, particularly the Palestinian cause, said Greek Deputy Minister of National Economy, Ioannis Papantoniou.

He said the economic programme his government had implemented in the last two years had raised Greek products to a competitive standard.

The inflation and the balance of payments deficit had come down from \$3.3 billion in 1985 to \$1.3 billion in 1987, and the income in the last 15 years had wiped out the trade deficit in which the Greeks had moved into the stage of decreasing the debts.

This flourished in wage balance was due to the economic indicator which flourished the stock market, shares increased ten times as before but it did not affect the recent crisis in the stock market. "But still there are wide opportunities to improve the cooperation between us in

exporting Greek goods such as food, ready-made clothes, construction equipments sold at competitive prices. Exports increased by 16 per cent in one year," he said.

Greece reaps the benefits of full EEC membership which gives a better chance to import technically qualified goods to Kuwait with competitive prices, comparatively cheaper than the same goods manufactured in Europe.

It is easy for people to invest their money in Greece and bring in and take out all their money including all types of profit. The investment policy in Greece adheres to the current European policy, because of its membership in EEC.

Papantoniou said people could also invest in the industrial and touristic projects.

Greece offers great facilities to Kuwaiti tourists.

## Efforts

During the meetings with the Kuwaiti officials, he said he focussed on efforts to increase the presence of Greek contractors and companies in the Kuwaiti market due to their long experience. He commended the Kuwaiti ministries' cooperation in his proposals to achieve useful results in economic relations. He also praised the decisions of the Kuwaiti ministers about investment projects in Greece and said their part was to provide them with all the information to prosper the committee's mission.

## Competition

He said there were great opportunities for full cooperation on the medical side and he discussed the possibility with the Undersecretary of Health Nael Al Naqeeb and President of Kuwait's Chamber of Commerce and Industry Abdul Aziz Al Saqr. During these meetings, he said, they explored the possibility of increasing trade cooperation with Greece. The minister also held extensive talks with Kuwait's Finance Minister Jassem Al Khorafi and the Chairman of Kuwait KFTCIC.

The Kuwaiti delegation is likely to visit Athens this month to discuss ways to boost trade ties.

Papantoniou said there was no Greek competition with Turkish goods in the Gulf market because Greek products are prepared according to EEC specification.

He said that the commercial exchange had fallen due to the situation in the Gulf.

Through the negotiations held with the Kuwait officials, they agreed upon reactivating Arab and Greek banking operations to enable the funds to flow to Greece, he said.

The 30-member Greek delegation arrived in Kuwait last Friday headed by the Deputy Minister of National Economy and the President of the Arab-Hellenic Chamber of Commerce and Development Nicolas Kioleidis.

/12913

**Review of Economic Developments**  
**44000014 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English**  
**14 Nov 87 p 11**

[Article: "Kuwait's Non-oil GDP Growth Quickens; Public Expenditure Drops": Review of major economic, financial and monetary developments]

[Text] The fiscal year 1986/87 witnessed intensive efforts to acclimatize the Kuwaiti economy to the realities of new domestic and foreign developments, which were highlighted in the Central Bank's previous reports. Further the bank stressed in these reports that the acclimatization process should be realistic and according to specific objective goals, enabling major productive sectors to grow at sustainable and balanced rates, according to Central Bank of Kuwait's annual report.

The Kuwaiti economy, by virtue of these efforts, overcame the critical stage of acclimatization and gained enough force to push the domestic economic activity to an appropriate realistic level.

Current key economic indicators reflecting the performance of the Kuwait economy show that despite the significant decline in both the GDP and oil sector GDP (at current prices) from 7.8 per cent and 12.3 per cent respectively in 1985 to 16 per cent and 38.3 per cent respectively in 1986, the GDP of non-oil sectors (at current prices) grew in 1986 by 6.4 per cent to KD3141.7 million, against KD2951.7 million in 1985.

This is mainly attributed to an increase in the growth rates of the GDP from the manufacturing, services and transport, communications and storage sectors, on the one hand, and to a reduced rate of decline in the GDP from both financial institutions and wholesale and retail trade sectors on the other.

#### Steps

These developments in the GDP confirm that the non-oil sectors have begun to grow at realistic levels, after the abnormal activity of the Kuwaiti economy between 1979 and 1982.

During the fiscal year 1986/87 the concerned authorities endeavoured to rectify the positions of shareholding companies, enhance activity in the real estate and securities markets, rationalize the uses of the country's financial resources, and encourage the private sector to increase its role in development. Important measures were also enacted to develop and enhance confidence in the banking and financial system.

All these steps were consistent with the general directions of the 1985/1986-1989-90 Economic and Social Development Plan, aiming at eliminating structural imbalances in the Kuwaiti economy, which intensify the vulnerability of domestic activity to external influences.

In view of recent developments in the Iran-Iraq war, the value of both re-exports and exports of Kuwaiti origin decreased in the fiscal year 1986/87 by 7 per cent and 2 per cent respectively below their levels in the previous year. As a result, the total value of non-oil exports dropped in 1986/87 about 5 per cent below its level in the previous year.

In addition, receipts from oil exports declined considerably, despite the gradual increase in crude oil prices.

#### Increase

Conversely, the volume of Kuwait's imports decreased tangibly due to several factors, among which were deceleration in re-exports activity, rationalizing public expenditure, concentration on priority projects, and obliging contractors to use national products.

Further, the 5 per cent decline in final consumption expenditure (government and private) in 1986, against a rise 2.3 per cent in the previous year, contributed to the decrease in the volume of Kuwaiti imports.

However, the increase in the prices of imported goods (i.e. 10 per cent in 1986 above their levels in the previous year), combined with the declining value of oil exports, resulted in a decline in the value of Kuwait's foreign trade. Despite this decline, Kuwait's balance of trade still recorded a surplus of KD300 million in the fiscal year 1986/87.

Also, the increase in the value of income from foreign investments, which represents a major item in the current account revenues, played a major role in maintaining the current account surplus for fiscal year 1986/87 at approximately its level in the previous year, i.e., KD1617 million.

Kuwait's oil revenues have been influenced by the developments in international oil markets, mainly the absence of complete co-ordination among oil producers, both Opec and non-Opec, as oil prices bottomed out at the beginning of the fiscal year 1986/87 at less than \$10 per barrel in July 1986.

In August 1986, the situation came under control when Opec producers, in an attempt to stop the decline in oil prices, reached an agreement providing for a decrease in oil production by the member countries to levels matching world demand.

As a result of the above developments and despite the gradual improvement in international oil prices, the average price of Kuwaiti crude oil per barrel ranged

between \$14 and \$15 in the fiscal year 1986/87. As a result, oil revenues declined during July 1986-April 1987 by 38.2 per cent below their levels during the corresponding period in the previous year. With a decline of 2 per cent in non-oil revenues between these two periods, public revenues decreased by 34.7 per cent to KD1345.4 million during the first ten months of the fiscal year 1986/87.

However, the local fiscal and investment policy adopted by the Kuwaiti government during the fiscal year 1986/87 played a major role in alleviating the negative effect of the decline in public revenues (oil revenues in particular) on domestic and economic activity in general.

#### Policy

Kuwait's fiscal policy in 1986/87 had two main objectives: rationalizing public expenditure and increasing public financial resources. As for the former, the government wishes to render services at the least possible cost without affecting performance efficiency, by concentrating on requirements and curbing expenditures on consumption, improving the performance of public administration, raising the efficiency of the state investment assets, and considering construction projects according to specific priorities, with the Kuwaiti private sector given a major role in executing and maintaining these projects.

As a result of these efforts public expenditure decreased during the first ten months of the fiscal year 1986/87 by 13.9 per cent as compared with its level during the corresponding period in the previous year.

Further, government domestic expenditure decreased between these two periods by 12.4 per cent.

#### Decline

With these developments in public revenues and expenditure, the total deficit in the state general budget during the first ten months of the fiscal year 1986/87 amounted to KD838.3 million, i.e., 63 per cent of the total deficit which is estimated at KD1331.5 million in the state general budget for the fiscal year 1986/87, after deducting 10 per cent of the total estimates on public revenues, allocated to the reserve account for future generations in compliance with Law No. 106 for 1976.

Despite the continuous decline in oil receipts and consequently in public revenues, which are estimated in the 1987/88 Budget at KD1979.4 million, this budget has aimed at maintaining government expenditure at its actual levels realized in 1985/86.

This expenditure is estimated at KD3158 million, so that the total deficit in the state budget is expected to rise to KD1376.5 million. To ease the pressure on the general reserve account, through which the actual deficit in the

State budget is financed, a study is currently being undertaken about the possibility of resorting debt instruments as a means of furnishing the state with temporary extra financing.

As to developments in the securities market, the fiscal year 1986/87 witnessed noticeable activity. The volume of trading in the official market totalled 1127.7 million shares distributed over 61.5 thousand transactions, at a value of KD807.5 million, i.e., an increase of 496 per cent in both the volume of trading, 416 per cent and 390 in both the number and value of transactions respectively.

The above developments confirm the relative improvement in the securities market during the fiscal year 1986/87 as compared with the years following the collapse of the Al Manakh market in 1982. This is mainly attributable to the measures taken by the concerned authorities to organize the institutional structure of the securities market, regulate trading and expand its base in that market and to the latest monetary procedures pertaining to interest rate structure and sharesplitting.

The fiscal year 1986/87 witnessed intensive efforts to enhance confidence in the banking and financial system, alleviating the problem of difficult credit facilities and limiting its repercussions on banking and financial institutions in particular, and on the domestic economy in general. A programme for the settlement of the difficult credit facilities was issued by the CBK and approved by the Council of Ministers on August 10, 1986. The banks have already begun to implement the difficult credit facilities programme as from January 1, 1987. This programme aims at supporting the financial positions of Kuwaiti banks, securing their ability to meet their obligations, and supporting the financial capacity of key economic institutions in a manner that secures their sound financial positions and enables them to perform their roles efficiently and effectively.

During the second half of the fiscal year 1986/87, banks achieved remarkable progress in debt settlements according to the above programme. The balance of debtors who responded to the banks' call for settlements accounted for 97 per cent of the total debt under settlement. Many of the responding debtors advised banks of their financial positions which showed a deficit in some of them. Settlement projects already performed by banks account for 87 per cent of balance debts of those having a deficit in their financial positions. More settlement projects were delivered to debtors whose debts account for 41 per cent of the total value of settlements already reached.

During the fiscal year 1986/87 the Central Bank instructed banks to rationalize their policy of extending credit and to supervise it. During the fiscal year 1986/87, the Central Bank used different monetary policy instruments to maintain relative stability in the KD exchange

rate, moderate volatility in its purchasing power, and regulate the flow of liquidity in the banking system and in the local economy in general.

### Debts

To ease the burden of debt on the resident debtors and give them the opportunity to reschedule their debts and continue performing their economic activity, to promote demand for bank credit, stimulate consumer and investment expenditure and expand demand for goods and services, the Central Bank—as from March 8, 1987—amended the structure of local contractual interest rates.

Under this amendment, the maximum limit of interest rate is determined at 7.5 per cent per annum on KD loans and bonds whose term does not exceed one year. The maximum interest rate on KD loans whose term exceeds one year is not to exceed 1 per cent over the prevailing interbank interest rate.

Meanwhile the maximum interest rate on KD-denominated bonds whose term exceeds one year is not to exceed 2 per cent more than the prevailing interbank interest rate.

During the fiscal year 1986/87, the KD exchange rate rose by 2.9 per cent against the dollar over the preceding fiscal year. The monthly average of the dollar exchange rate during the fiscal year 1986/87 ranged between 268.86 fils and 294.86 fils and 294.83 fils, with an annual average of 285.08 fils.

On the other hand, the KD exchange rate declined against six major currencies (sterling pound, Japanese yen, Swiss franc, Deutsche mark, Italian lira and French franc) at varied rates from 2.9 per cent against the sterling pound to 20.8 per cent against the Japanese yen.

/06662

### LEBANON

**Fadlallah Blames U.S. for 'Failure' of Arab Summit**  
*44040043b Beirut AL-SAFIR 16 Nov 87 p 4*

[Article: "Fadlallah: The Amman Summit Was an Unusual One in terms of the Arab Collapse"]

[Excerpts] Mr Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah has described the Arab summit in Amman as "an unusual one in terms of collapse" and has said that he had expected "a resumption of relations with Egypt" from it, pointing out that America wanted that "as an Arab demonstration against Iran, to give the American presence in the Gulf a justification and political support."

Mr Fadlallah, in a press interview, declared, "The adherents of Islam are prepared to ally themselves even with Marxists in confronting colonialism and Zionism," and

said, "I had not expected anything substantial and important from the summit, indeed the only thing I had expected was the resumption of relations with Egypt, which is what came about. Nothing real happened there in the summit discussions that have reached us. Indeed, the concluding statement just consisted of general titles and emotional words which do not involve much. However, what we want to raise regarding the issue of the summit and what came before it is that the Arabs act in summits which lead them to concessions at every stage when America wants its Arabs to offer concessions under an Arab title so that that will preserve their credibility regarding the Arab stance for them and preserve for these Arab symbols which America seeks to retain the immensity of their personality in general causes, and they deliberately allude to the holding of a summit conference so that the concessions will be the object of an Arab decision or Arab silence so that they may advance in the political arena without commotion or problems. And this is what has happened.

"America, through this summit, sought to create an Arab demonstration against Iran, not any movement at all in the political and security situation, in order to give the American presence in the Gulf political support and a justification for what America wants in the future.

"On the other hand, because America wants Egypt to enter the Arab political arena by the official door, so that it can insert the Israeli issue and the American issue into the Arab political arena in a more effective manner—as we know that the people who restored relations with Egypt and the people who want to restore them have not come up with anything new in their political positions—their relations with Egypt have been stronger than they would have been had diplomatic relations existed, and therefore America wants to give the question an Arab legitimacy which will contribute to Israel's Arab legitimacy.

"Everything we had expected was achieved. We did not anticipate the occurrence of anything important. Therefore, the Arab summit is an unusual one in terms of Arab collapse."

In response to a question on the damage from the boycott of Egypt, Fadlallah said, "The Arabs have not lost 40 million Egyptians, but they have lost a ruling class which covertly acted in conformity with American-Israeli policy. As to the 40 million Egyptians, they are still on the side of the Islamic Arab stage, which does not accept an Israeli political-security presence on the Palestinian stage. We imagine that there is an embryonic revolution living in the womb of the Moslem Egyptian people, who cannot bear to have Egypt stand alongside Israel and alongside America against Moslem Iran and against the other Moslems and against all the Arabs. Since the historic cause takes Egypt's integration with

the other countries as a basis for the strength of the position against the Crusaders, this affirms our theory, that the issue is the people and not the issue of the regime in this cause."

Concerning the effect of the Islamic revolution's position of setting the national and Islamic positions against one another, he said, "The issue is not as the question has presented it. Rather, the Islamic revolution must form alliance with all groups that fight Israel, regardless of the nature of the regime that governs them. Therefore, we have considered that the Islamic revolution in Iran has striven to create a firm alliance with Syria, on grounds that Syria in its strategic plans is sustaining the issue of the confrontation with colonialism, with Israel. The question is that we, as adherents to Islam, anywhere, are prepared to make alliance even with Marxists in confronting colonialism and Zionism within the limits which the Islamic policy can accommodate itself to. How could we not ally ourselves with the Arab nationalists in this direction?" 11887

#### Power Struggle, Takeover Attempt in Shiite Movement Reviewed

44040043a Kuwait *AL-QABAS* 3 Nov 87 p 1

[Article by 'Ali Ballut: "A Silent Coup D'Etat in the Hizballah"]

[Text] Information that has recently originated in Beirut draws a picture of a "silent coup" which has taken place within the Lebanese Hizballah movement in the recent period, resulting in the dismissal of some Lebanese figures known for their tendency to free themselves from pursuing Iranian methods and their desire to give the Lebanese fundamentalist experiment a character distinct from the Iranian one.

The accelerating events which are still fermenting within the organizational structure of the party command prompt observers to be convinced that "Iran decided, then carried out, the process of gaining total control of the party with its main and branch leaders" after it had dismissed the personnel who previously had prevented the execution of the decree coming from Tehran at the desired speed, without discussion of any consideration of the practical difference which existed between the roots of the experiment in Iran and the nature of the movement in Lebanon.

This particular information reaches the point of extremism when it is recalled that the main direct reason for the occurrence of the silent coup can be attributed to Tehran's decision that it was necessary to hasten the execution of the steps leading to the declaration of the Lebanese Islamic Republic as a carbon copy of its forerunner and leader in Tehran, free of the individual thinking of theoreticians who over the period of the past 2 years have tried "to separate the system of the guardianship of

the religious jurist in effect in Iran from what the fundamentalist human Lebanese nature, with its branches combining Sunnites and the Shiites alike, can accept."

Tehran's view was defined in the framework that "Time no longer will permit entry into a debate on these individual theories, because there is a single Islamic republic which has its laws, its rituals and its particular features which bring together the Moslems in all areas of the world," and acknowledgment of the existence of a particular distinctive feature or features among Moslems will have the effect of "bringing the world Islamic fundamentalist movement into a vicious circle of disputes, which will affect its progress and limit its momentum."

There are people who also point out that Tehran from the political standpoint urgently needs the declaration of the birth of an Islamic Republic in Lebanon. During the years of the war, which has entered its eighth year, Iran has not been able to export its revolution beyond its borders, and this has created a climate of uneasiness mixed with a proliferation of doubts among the Iranian rank and file concerning the ability of the Islamic revolution in Iran to carry out its "expansionist plans."

Therefore, hastening the announcement of a corresponding republic in Lebanon would have the effect of eliminating the uneasiness and doubts and would consequently give the Iranian rank and file new drive to continue the war in the Gulf first of all and to sustain attempts to establish similar republics in the areas ripe for that.

Proceeding from this consideration, Tehran has hastened to establish absolute control over the Hizballah in Lebanon, because that constitutes the sole instrument for the establishment of the Islamic republic, and it has chosen the al-Biqa' area, and not the south, as a geographic setting for this republic, provided that this stage be in effect a nucleus after which the process of annexing the south and part of the north, "following their liberation from the excitable mental leftovers which dominate them," would occur.

What is noteworthy in this regard is the presence of intensified cooperation between the Hizballah and the other Islamic fundamentalist groups working in the Lebanese arena to achieve this goal. It is this which explains the presence of a Society of Moslem Brothers representative at the command meetings where the appropriate executive command decisions are taken, "because the Islamic republic is not the trust of one sect to the exclusion of another but is a natural embodiment of a single, unified fundamentalist Islamic movement," in the words of the Iranian ambassador to Lebanon, Ahmad Dastmalchian.

On the subject of the command meetings, special information indicates that periodic meetings are held, at a rate of once a month, in the Shaykh 'Abdallah barracks in Ba'labakk, attended by the Iranian ambassador in Lebanon, Dastmalchian, a group of Hizballah leaders headed by Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli, who, after the success of the silent coup, became the actual leader of the party in Lebanon, and people in charge of the Iranian revolutionary guard, under the command of the person in charge of the guard in Lebanon and Syria, Mostafa Khaksar, and his aide Mohammad Ava'i, in addition to a member of the Society of Moslem Brothers. At this meeting, developments in the execution of the stipulated steps for declaring the Islamic republic and the effort to transcend the obstacles standing in its way are tracked.

It is possible to point out, on the basis of the special information, that the program for preparing the political and economic climate for declaration of the Islamic republic has been put into execution. This program, in its broad form, includes the setting out of the political and economic bases on which the nucleus of the Islamic republic in the al-Biqa' will be founded.

In the economic context, Iran has increased its economic and financial aid to the Hizballah, since the payments it made from last May to the end of September have come to more than \$5 million, on top of previous allocations. This sum was spent from the section on strengthening "the Islamic resistance," which is supposed to carry out operations against the Israeli forces and the forces allied with it in the south, and is the means for competing with the Amal Movement and the forces supporting it in this area. However, the basic objective is not just to create an armed, hostile atmosphere opposed to Israel but also to exploit this atmosphere to rally the Islamic forces under the banner of the Hizballah and consequently to have this party become the basic dominant force, politically, economically and ideologically. The attainment of this goal has become an easy matter in view of the deterioration of the Lebanese economy on the one hand and the Amal Movement's deficiency in meeting its financial commitments on the other, since there is a noticeable deficit in AMAL's budget, which is based on the donations of Lebanese expatriates, spread about in particular in West Africa. At the present time, the villages of southern Lebanon are experiencing a wide-scale process of polarization involving the Amal Movement and the Hizballah, since the latter has managed to record popular victories in enlisting a large number of the poor people of the south under the influence of financial need, not out of conviction in this party's principles and goals. This prompted the head of the Amal Movement, the minister Nabih Birri, to utter his repeated appeals to his expatriate and resident supporters on the need to hasten the increase in financial aid "before it is too late."

At the same time, Iran has raised the salaries of the members belonging to the Lebanese Hizballah by rates ranging from 20 percent, at a minimum, to 50 percent at

a maximum. That in effect has been a tangible factor of encouragement which has been reflected in a negative manner on the popularity of AMAL, in particular in the region of the south.

In the al-Biqa' area, which Iran has decided to turn into the nucleus of the Islamic republic, a start has been made in carrying out the program of building the economic foundations of the anticipated republic and the early signs of a series of projects have appeared on the surface, such as the opening of a number of pharmacies to distribute medicines to poor people in the area at token prices, along with the preparation of studies to establish factories for these medicines in the region. In addition, chicken farms have been established in Riyaq, and cattle and livestock farms in various areas of the plain, to provide residents with the requisite foodstuffs while encouraging the cultivation of wheat, grain and necessary materials, establishing a number of schools and providing them with the presses they need, "provided that the Iranian language be the second language in the curricula." This all has the effect of putting the al-Biqa' region in the context of "self-sufficiency" economically, "because that facilitates the execution of the political program to give the nucleus of the Islamic republic the character of the real government, with all its dimensions and scientific foundations."

In the political context, the Iranian revolutionary guard has managed, since last May, to intensify its absolute dominance of the Hizballah by appointing Iranian delegates to the party's various organizational bodies. These delegates are carrying out the task of executing decisions taken in Tehran in various fields. The revolutionary guard is today engaged in completing the process of "comprehensive military mobilization" of the members of the Hizballah. In the recent period, an increase in camps for training in arms in the al-Biqa' and other regions, "where Iranian trainers are in charge of the training of new and old Lebanese personnel in the use of various types of weapons, in particular in the performance of suicide operations," has been observed. The Hizballah with its new leadership has managed to take the initiative in determining more than at any time in the past the political approach Iran wants. This is affirmed by the presence of Ambassador Dastmalchian and Khaksar at the meetings held in the Shaykh 'Abdallah barracks in Ba'labakk once a month, at the most conservative estimate.

The special information coming in from Beirut has it that Ambassador Dastmalchian, at the last meeting held in these barracks, asserted "the need for more Iranian control of the party" in regard to the coordination of religious figures' activities and conduct, in particular "the consolidation of sermons and political statements, so that they will occur in a harmonious manner serving the greater goal, which is the earliest possible establishment of the Islamic republic." Dastmalchian referred to "conspicuous deviation" in the conduct of Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, the vice chairman of

the higher Shiite Islamic council, and said that the Iranian leadership held Shams-al-Din's political identity in doubt, following his suspicious position on a few events, which contradicts the Iranian position. The Iranian ambassador pointed out, in effect, that we are on the way to revealing and exposing Shams-al-Din's real political identity and working to isolate him from our strong Islamic current.

In addition, Ambassador Dastmalchian criticized with conspicuous violence and vehemence the position of Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah (who was considered the spiritual leader of the Hizballah before the success of the silent coup), describing him as retreating from true Islamic teachings and clearly declaring "Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah is no longer part of us, and we are no longer part of him."

The logical explanation of this attack on the former spiritual leader of the Hizballah is that Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah has a point of view at odds with the Iranian approach of "hastening" the effort to establish the Islamic republic in Lebanon "before the circumstances and facts surrounding the complex, thorny conditions of Lebanon mature."

In addition, he considers that the Lebanese fundamentalist movement has "its own distinctive features, which differ, by virtue of culture and traditions, from the particular characteristics of the Iranian Islamic republic, and it is necessary to observe this matter with great care." Fadlallah takes a position on the principle of the "guardianship of the religious jurist" which has provoked the anger of Imam Khomeini personally, and he considers "what is proper for Tehran is not of necessity proper for Lebanon."

While the guardianship of the religious jurist gives Khomeyni the right to lead the Islamic republic in Iran, in the framework of inherited Iranian culture and traditions, this guardianship must give the Lebanese the right to chose their spiritual and political leader in the framework of their culture, their traditions and their individual thinking. This means accepting the principle of the guardianship of the religious jurist on the one hand and rejecting Khomeyni's sovereignty over Lebanese territory on the other. 11887

**Senior Amal Leader Reveals Closely-Held Views**  
**44040017Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA**  
**AL-DUWALI in Arabic 26 Oct 87 pp 12-16**

[Interview with Dawud Dawud by Mahmud Muhyi-al-Din and Nabil Barakis: "Demand for Islamic Republic Justifies Demand for Christian Republic"; date and place not specified]

[Text] To those who are knowledgeable in the history of Mount 'Amil, it appears that the struggle over control of the Lebanese south is not a new phenomenon that emerged with the arrival of the Palestinians in the south

and the interplay between the Lebanese and Palestinian causes, but that the struggle between the south and its south from the geopolitical viewpoint dates back to the pre-Palestinian cause era at the turn of the century. The wars of Zahir al-Umar and others with the chieftains of the Lebanese south represent one of the milestones of this struggle.

Just as geography played a part in the birth of the struggle, societal considerations played an equally significant role.

Hence, the struggle to take charge of the decisionmaking process in the south with its Shiite majority has always been a regional dream which Shah Rida Pahlavi entertained long before Imam al-Khomeyni. Between the Phalavi Empire and the Islamic Republic in Iran is a methodological dimension whose importance transcends the interval between the two eras and their separate endeavors to gain a foothold in the south of Lebanon.

Thus the decisive chapter in the struggle over the south and its utilization as a card on the table of contention and regional and international dialogues no doubt is a most important one in the historic struggle in our country and over our country. It gave birth to the Lebanese question which is no less serious than the fundamental Arab question, the question of Palestine.

The important thing in the current chapter in this struggle is that it gave birth to a major and strong Lebanese Shiite force, through an initiative by Imam Musa al-Sadr, as a moral and doctrinal patron and a political course. This force grew with the growth of the struggle in Lebanon with the influential military force during this period of time; I mean the Palestinian force.

And so it was a confrontation of developments that grew into what seems to be a protracted war similar to other limited territorial wars in more than one area of the world.

The Amal Movement that stands on one side of the battlefield while its eyes are on another chapter of the ongoing war in Lebanon now has its own army, agencies, organizations, people, leaders and political and fighting cadres.

At the head of these leaders, after Nabih Birri, of course, the leader of the movement who sits at the top, stands the new chief of the executive staff, Dawud Dawud—"Abu Sulayman" as his southern supporters like to call him—who leads fighters and strugglers striving to offer services to the public and to solve a multitude of societal problems.

In this meeting with Abu Sulayman, he discussed all topics that have been raised in the south as well as subjects raised in the southern and regional arena related to the Lebanese situation and the fate of the south.

Dawud, second in the line in the Amal Movement and its strong man, as he is depicted in the south, wanted to have a long discourse about the current situation in the south and the development of the struggle with the Palestinian organizations and their auxiliary forces. He said:

"To begin with, I would like to go back to the issue on which we always used to focus following Israel's partial withdrawal from the south because of the attacks carried out by the resistance in Mount 'Amil which shook Israel, compelling it to withdraw to what is called the border strip and what I call the 'heart of Lebanon.' This issue is based on three things: that the resistance must continue, that security in the liberated regions must prevail and that the agents of the so-called 'Southern Lebanese Army' must be confronted because Israel is trying, through them, to mask its occupation and to portray the struggle as being among Lebanese factions. If the 'Lahd Army' can be dismantled, Israeli occupation will be fully exposed, hence our action to dismantle the 'Lahd Army.'

"On this premise, we used to contend that the resistance that must go on is not a 'Katyusha resistance' or that of heavy weapons similar to the pre-1982 situation. The resistance that has proved its worth and effectiveness is that which emerged within the context of the 'iron fist,' the resistance of the women who throw themselves in front of tanks and the 80-year old man who faces the Israeli soldier with his plough. It is the resistance of the young girl who says that Israel is an unadulterated evil and that of the mobilized people, not to mention armed action involving bombs, mines, machineguns and rockets.

"When we were in the Tyre area under occupation, no rockets were fired from Sidon to Tyre nor heavy weapons from Sidon toward al-Qasimiyah. Under occupation, we refused to allow anyone to use heavy weapons from outside the occupied region.

"It was our resistance that made the Israeli soldier feel that the trees, the rocks and the soil were being transformed into charges exploding in his face. Action from outside the occupied region causes resistance to go amiss because erecting a rocket from outside the occupied areas is much easier than laying an ambush. Hence, if we allow action from the outside, resistance from the inside will abate gradually, thus transforming the lines of disengagement into lines of contact and Israel is stronger and much more capable of staging a military duel across the lines of contact."

In the course of his explanation of the resistance's strategy, which he thinks is effective, Dawud focused on the "popular factor," talking about mobilizing the people against cooperating with the Israelis, against working in Israel and against leaving the occupied villages.

He explained the importance of the "security factor in resistance" by saying: "Insecure people are incapable of resisting because anyone fighting the enemy must have the feeling that his home, his property and his family are safe. This brings us to security in the south which some consider as hegemony over a 'canton' or 'ghetto.' This will never be. Our idea has always been to provide security and if any party other than the Amal Movement can do that, it is welcome to come forward, be it the Lebanese Army or anyone else. Experience has shown, however, that no party other than Amal can maintain security in the south. Perhaps the recent rally in Tyre (31 August 1987) proved that the public is on the side of Amal, the one force able to maintain security. Other parties were supposed to help instead of trying to disturb the peace because by doing so not only do they harm the Amal Movement, but they also help and further the cause of Israel. Experience has shown that security that is spread out and managed by more than one party is doomed to failure. Therefore, security should be the job of one party only which, in the case of the south, is the Amal Movement."

Dawud distinguished between security and resistance: "Some interpret Amal's concept of a unified security machine as wanting to monopolize the resistance. This is wrong because our motto has always been 'security is in 'Amal's hands and resistance is by all.' Resistance is the right of every Lebanese citizen, particularly since we are facing a historic enemy and fighting in behalf of 150 million Arabs and all Muslims who look on Israel as the principal enemy. Therefore, I cannot monopolize resistance action. Hence our motto 'security is by Amal and resistance is by everyone.' However, we are talking about a resistance led by a unified operations room with a view to coordinating resistance action rather than monopolizing and dominating it."

As an example of the importance of coordination among the resistance fighters within the framework of a joint operation room, Dawud said: "Suppose I sent out a team to carry out a certain operation against the occupation and another party sends out another team at the same time without coordinating with me, the two will collide. That is why we called for coordination in operations and in related media communiques because Israel reads our communiques and sees our actions, and if our communiques are compatible with our deeds, we can spread fear and terror among enemy troops. However, if our communiques are not compatible with our deeds and are overstated, the enemy will not heed them. Moreover, a fund must be established in addition to the operations room to give immediate compensation for losses incurred by enemy reprisals and Israeli aggression against villages and inhabitants. In the past, rockets would be fired and the people would suffer reprisals without any kind of help or compensation. This creates a gap between the resistance and the public."

About "security for all and by all," Dawud said: "I cannot, for instance, prevent a Tyre inhabitant from carrying arms while a Rashidiyah inhabitant is doing just

that. Would he not have the right to ask me why the Palestinian is carrying arms while he, the son of Tyre, is forbidden to do so? Therefore, security has to be by everyone or we have no security. If we allow everyone to carry arms, security will slip out of our hands for, whereas the south has national parties, it also has covert Mosad operatives. It is proper for the Palestinians to want arms to defend themselves in the camps so long as they stay inside the camps, but who will protect the Palestinians in the fields, on the roads and in the city? Not all people can carry arms because security would be lost and national action would be harmed.

"If we sense a positive attitude on the part of the Palestinians and they are convinced of security and the real action of the resistance which liberates the land and which is not sensational propaganda action, all transgressions and aggressions would come to an end and we would work for the consolidation of our relations with the Palestinians. This is what we consider a worthwhile action."

[Question] Has the objective of this position been achieved?

[Answer] This is what we advocate. As for the brothers who try to hide behind the resistance and put on a show for repatriation as they used to do prior to 1982, we will let time judge them.

Israel allowed the Palestinian resistance to build up its arsenal in the Lebanese south and when the right time came, it attacked and confiscated all the weapons. This is a lesson we ought to heed and must not overlook.

[Question] What direction do you think the Palestinian organizations will take in the future?

[Answer] I believe that those who are running after an international conference and are meeting with Israel and looking for a card to wave will try to create rifts between us and the Palestinians. Their proponent says: "My people are being massacred in Lebanon and the borders with Israel are closed in my face. I cannot carry out any operations, so I want to negotiate with Israel, to make peace with it and find a solution."

[Question] Do you believe that the problem will persist between the camps and their environs?

[Answer] No, no. We will not allow a war between the camps and their environs. The Palestinians have been in the south since 1948 and have been sharing water and fig and olive trees with the people of the south. All Palestinians are aware of that.

The southern farmer used to say: "I cultivated this piece of land and my Palestinian neighbor will cultivate the next one." There was no such thing as a Palestinian-Lebanese problem until arms and transgressions began to emerge. People became frightened. Between Israel's

invasion and withdrawal and fear of its return, the experience is not encouraging. The southerners now feel that the return of the Palestinian "rifle" means the return of humiliation and domination. That is why we used to advocate giving the people a chance to feel safe and embark on resistance action together through the operations room and to maintain security in the south where it is incumbent upon every sincere person to help establish security.

[Question] Do the Palestinians agree with your beliefs and attitudes?

[Answer] It seems to us that the people in the camps are convinced of our point of view. We know that if left alone, camp inhabitants will agree with us. Unfortunately, money is what talks under these circumstances. Moreover, organizations coming from the outside are trying to strain relations. We say to the camp people: "Why do you not let the press know the truth?" And their answer is: "We cannot. We are afraid that if we express our opinion we run the risk of being killed."

There is an oppressive atmosphere, but the Palestinians in the camps share our view and our perception of one destiny and one confrontation. I am confident that should a free and impartial referendum be held inside the camps, 80 percent of the inhabitants would refuse to go back to the pre-1982 state of affairs.

[Question] But do you think this is possible following the war which is threatening to flare up once again?

[Answer] It is true that the war has intensified and spread enough to prompt the Amal Movement, which has been dedicated as a resistance fighting Israel and the temporary media has succeeded in portraying it as "Sharonism" killing Palestinians, to change its course because a resistance in the south working for the expulsion of Israel is a condemnation of those who formed a resistance before 1982. They took over the south for 15 years, but they failed to force Israel to budge an inch. When a certain resistance from the south came into being, it compelled Israel to withdraw and the war of the camps broke out. Public opinion saw us, we the resistance fighters, as fighting the Palestinian people.

[Question] How long do you think this vicious cycle will continue?

[Answer] We are determined to end the war of the camps and dedicate our full time to liberating the rest of the land in the south through resistance because the only road to liberation is resistance. This is what gave rise to Nabih Birri's clear, specific and programmed initiative. The organizations must withdraw from east Sidon. As for human services for the camps, it is self-evident and axiomatic and we will not be remiss in this regard.

[Question] Will the question of what should come first, construction material deliveries to the camps or withdrawal from the camps, turn into a futile argument?

[Answer] Withdrawal first, followed by construction material deliveries to the camps. Building cannot be done in a month or two. If knee-jerking is a fact and I have no proof of their positive attitude, what guarantees do I have that construction material delivered to the camps will not be used to build gun emplacements. And instead of letting in cement and steel to repair damaged buildings, who can guarantee that they will not use this material to set up fortifications? Therefore, we said withdrawal to the camps first at which time it becomes our duty to get cement and steel to them to repair their houses. This is where their manipulation started.

[Question] Mr Nabih Birri proposed a timetable for implementing his initiative which provided for simultaneous withdrawal and delivery of material to the camps within 48 hours. Can this be done?

[Answer] Yes, it can be done. According to this timetable, 300 trucks of cement and steel can be readied and when they withdraw from east Sidon the material will be delivered to the camps. This is possible to do even within 24 hours, but, in my opinion, they are playing tricks and stalling for time.

[Question] What do you think they want?

[Answer] I think that their procrastination in the past was in anticipation of the Baqruduni-'Arafat meeting in Baghdad. I believe there is some kind of a deal being sponsored by President Husni Mubarak for surreptitious delivery of arms to the Lebanese Forces and the 'Arafat group. This deal is not in the interest of the resistance or the people. To be sure, it is a deal that will benefit Israel exclusively.

[Question] You talked of procrastination regarding the implementation of the Birri initiative. Is there anything else behind this?

[Answer] Most certainly. Yasir 'Arafat wants to go to the Arab summit in Amman (next November 8), with a card in his hand, saying: "I am present in Lebanon and I want to have a role in any solutions to its problem."

However, in Lebanon today, there is a Syrian role and a Syrian solution to the Lebanese crisis, keeping in mind that Israel is trying to sabotage the Syrian role and has people who are carrying out its designs. In the final analysis, Israel will be the sole beneficiary, for when a war breaks out in east Sidon, we will aim our shells at one another instead of at Israel.

[Question] What is the solution?

[Answer] In my opinion, we must defuse the camps' war and explain to the Palestinians that they have the same rights as the Lebanese citizens save for citizenship. I reiterate here that true resistance is the best answer to what is going on.

[Question] Do you consider last week's shelling of Sidon by artillery positions of the South Lebanon Army to be a message following the progress made in bringing closer together points of view on Palestinian expansion in the direction of al-Tuffah region?

[Answer] No doubt about that. They are trying to drive a wedge between Sidon and the Amal Movement because Sidon is the gateway to the south and its vital lifeline. And inasmuch as they are able to create this wedge between Sidon and the south, we will come under pressure. Sidon's leaders, however, so far, have been wide awake and have met their responsibilities faithfully and honorably.

[Question] What kind of role is engineer Mustafa Sa'd playing in the Baysur and al-Muharibiyah events?

[Answer] So far, Sa'd's role has been good.

[Question] It has been announced that the Popular Liberation Army-Ma'ruf Sa'd Forces waged a counteroffensive and recaptured Baysur and al-Muharibiyah from Amal.

[Answer] No counteroffensive has been waged.

[Question] But it has been announced.

[Answer] Well, I do not know the true details surrounding these events, but I speak in generalities.

[Question] How are things coming along between you and the leftist parties, the Communist Party particularly, in the wake of the storm that Amal has faced in recent months, particularly with regard to the assassination of party elements in the south?

[Answer] They stirred up a big storm but what I now know is that positions adopted by the Communist Party representative in the most recent meeting of the Liberation and Unification Front and the Palestinian factions were positive toward the Amal Movement. Regarding the assassinations, I have provided enough evidence on what happened, not only material evidence, but technical as well. Arms experts have identified the weapon used to fire at Captain Kazim Darwish, for instance, and we did not rely on personal confessions of the perpetrators. Rather, we collected the bullets from the scene of the crime and produced the Kalashnikovs which the perpetrator confessed to using against Capt Darwish. Experts determined without a doubt that these bullets were fired from this weapon.

[Question] Has the storm subsided then?

[Answer] It did subside somewhat following the execution of the perpetrators because the campaign against us was meant to intimidate us and stop us from executing the perpetrators to cover up for other rings that are still in hiding. If we submit to pressure, these rings will persist in their work in the belief that, if uncovered, they, like the others, will not be punished. Therefore, the guilty had to be executed to send a message to those in hiding that the arm of the law will reach them if they did anything to disturb the peace. That is why we had to be decisive and cannot show any laxity in the matter of security.

[Question] Then there are some bridges between you and some of those who participated in the uproar against you?

[Answer] Within the framework of the Liberation and Unification Front.

[Question] Do you consider this front's existing formula to be enough?

[Answer] The front's formula must be expanded to include all national and Islamic forces in the North, the Biqa', the south, the mountain and Beirut. If people in these areas can agree on one political position, the "ghetto" will fall without a war or bullets. This is what we want everyone to realize.

Why should the lines of contact be preserved while decisions are being made on the inside? All national and Islamic forces opposed the hegemony, isolation and Israel must come together in one front. If they do that and the people are allowed to come out of their isolation and move freely, we will be guaranteed a national model which people here and there can choose as an alternative to the situation we are in today.

[Question] Do you think there are enough fundamentals for such a model?

[Answer] Of course. Our areas outside the "ghetto" have the fundamentals of geography, agriculture, capital and scientific capabilities compared to their 20 percent share of Lebanon's area. Accordingly, if we were to throw a bullet-free cordon, then the "ghetto" would fall, which is preferred especially if citizens can be sure that our areas provide freedom. In other words, we provide them with an alternative. But if we engage in internecine fighting, terrorism and abduction, we give them the power to turn their people against us.

[Question] Do you think that the Liberation and Unification Front is suited for this mission?

[Answer] I do not know whether it is suited or not. You are aware that I was in the south and have no idea about its capabilities.

[Question] To what degree are the various parties of the front in agreement?

[Answer] I know that there is an agreement that Lebanon must be Arab and not Zionist. Another point of agreement is that old confessional Lebanon is gone and a new Lebanon must be set up.

[Question] Do these parties agree on one position toward the regime?

[Answer] Yes. However, every party in the Lebanese area has its own special considerations.

[Question] The Progressive Socialist Party has accused Amal of expanding ties with the regime. Mr Nabih Birri's reply was that they sent fighters to Libya "for a handful of dollars." What kind of agreement is that?

[Answer] We have our own special considerations which precludes us from having relations with Libya while the Socialist Party views its relations with Libya as fundamental.

[Question] Where do we separate the white thread from the black thread in the relations among the various parties of the Liberation and Unification Front?

[Answer] We agree on Lebanon's Arab character and the affirmation that it will not establish relations with Israel. We also agree on rejection of a domineering regime.

[Question] Where do we part?

[Answer] As I have said, on special considerations and also foreign policy.

[Question] Where do you stand with respect to your relations with Hizballah?

[Answer] We do have strategic premises on the basis of which we part with or get close to any party with respect to the south in particular.

[Question] Last August 31, Mr Birri talked about the south's decisionmaking process, Arab character and Lebanese character.

[Answer] (interrupting) This process belongs to the Amal Movement and not to brother Nabih Birri.

[Question] He expressed Amal's policy saying that there are those who do not know the Arabic language, meaning that their decision is not the same as your decision. He also announced the nonrecognition of any religious agency outside the Supreme Shiite Council.

[Answer] That is correct.

[Question] Those people to whom Birri was referring, how far have they gone in their campaign against you?

[Answer] Dear sir, anyone who takes a position will meet with opposition. Do not think that you can take a decision which everyone will applaud. It is true that there are campaigns being waged against us.

[Question] Well, is your conflict with Hizballah strategic or minor?

[Answer] Strategy is something else. I do not believe that Hizballah is a frightening party.

[Question] Has Hizballah taken a decision on the situation in the south other than that of the Lebanese inhabitants of the south?

[Answer] I do not believe...I do not know of any other decision. Not to take the matter lightly, but the popular base in the south rejects a radical position. It supports moderation.

[Question] Does it support a Lebanese decisionmaking process?

[Answer] It supports its Lebanese character. This is the way the popular base is.

[Question] What about Arab Lebanon?

[Answer] And Arab Lebanon. We in the south are a people committed to religiosity.

[Question] We are not talking about faith, but about politics.

[Answer] No one ignores the doctrinal aspect, but the people of the south are convinced that we have our own special considerations in this area. We assess our situation according to our circumstances and cannot afford to be apathetic. Our doctrinal relations are very clear and we do have our own special considerations which others must understand and appreciate.

[Question] What are these considerations?

[Answer] Geography, politics and other things?

[Question] Iran's aspiration for a place among the Lebanese Shiites, the 'Amelis in particular, goes back a long way and assumes its added importance today from its being an ambition to control decision-making in the south, including contact with the Palestinian question, the crux of the Middle East conflict.

[Answer] The Iranian regime today—the Islamic regime and the Islamic state—is reflected in the ambition of every religious individual to establish an Islamic state, not only in Iran but in every other country as well.

We are a religious people and this is our strategic ambition. I, for example, know old people who used to search for Radio Iran during the Shah's era to listen to prayer.

[Question] From a Shiite perspective?

[Answer] Yes, there is this innate doctrinal tendency, but do not forget that we have paid for the Shah's pro-Israel policy. They used to say to us: "You are Shiite and Iran is Shiite and it gives oil to Israel." Thus, we are subjected to overbidding and were made to pay for the Shah's policy.

Today, Iran has changed and under the auspices of the Islamic state, it is fighting colonialism and its strategy includes the liberation of Jerusalem. It is trying to create a third world power, neither eastern nor western. This requires a person to be fair to Iran regarding these policies: opposition to colonialism, the liberation of Palestine and resisting arrogance.

A religious person supports the idea of an Islamic regime. We in Lebanon call for applying Imam al-Sadr's line, that of Muslim-Christian coexistence. This experience in Lebanon is a wealth for mankind.

[Question] This coexistence, does it conflict with the positions of the proponents of the Islamic republic line?

[Answer] Yes. Raising the demand for an Islamic republic in Lebanon justifies the idea of a Christian republic. In my opinion, the Shiite have suffered the most from the partition of Lebanon. Herein lies the conflict between us and the others.

[Question] In the wake of the objection to his speech in Tyre, Birri was quoted as saying...

[Answer] There was no objection to his speech.

[Question] Al-Husayni, Khalil Hamdan and the "believing" resistance.

[Answer] Those...

[Question] He was quoted as saying in one of the meetings that the Amal Movement is a Lebanese movement with an Arab depth and not an Iranian or anything else. Its decision is Arab Lebanese. Do you agree with this contention?

[Answer] The Amal Movement has a charter written by Imam al-Sadr. We support this written charter. Lebanon is Arab.

[Question] Based on Lebanon's Arabism, how do you view the gulf war from an Islamic or Arab angle?

[Answer] We cannot but condemn the presence of American fleets in the gulf. Moreover, if the world wants to implement Resolution 598 pertaining to the gulf war, why does it not implement Resolution 452 pertaining to Israeli evacuation of southern Lebanon. My opinion is that if the UN had implemented the first resolution it would have been easy now to implement Resolution 598.

The international Security Council is thought to be biased. Why does it not implement the resolutions pertaining to the Israeli occupation of Lebanese and Arab territory? Why did they get their fleets moving only when it came to their interests in the gulf. That is why we cannot but be on the side of Iran which is resisting colonialism.

[Question] In the gulf war?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Should Iran one day clash with an Arab side other than Iraq that enjoys your sympathy, which side would you support?

[Answer] We are on the side of right.

[Question] Regardless of geographic and nationalist considerations?

[Answer] We are on the side of right.

[Question] You are known, brother Abu Sulayman, for spearheading the defense of the international emergency forces in the south. Are these forces still in danger?

[Answer] I do not defend the emergency forces as much as I defend my people in the south. I believe that the presence of emergency forces in the south has many positive aspects to it. I also believe that the side protecting these international forces is not Amal, but rather the people themselves. Amal gives expression to this protection and any party that tries to strike at these forces will be opposed by the entire people of the south. Hence, those attacking the emergency forces have the people to fear and not the Amal Movement, and those impeding the emergency forces' way will have to face the people's wrath.

[Question] Hizballah and the Islamic resistance more than once have declared their opposition to the emergency forces' presence in the south. Does this attitude stem from their own independent judgment or do they reflect the political stance of another party?

[Answer] I am afraid this may be aimed at spiting the Amal Movement.

[Question] Only a matter of spite?

[Answer] I am afraid this might be the case.

[Question] Could a stance that may lead to the lifting of the international legitimacy umbrella from the south be merely a matter of spite?

[Answer] I see no other justification. If it is a matter of a Security Council stance, we agree with them. Otherwise, I do not think that any fair-minded person dealing objectively with the reality in the south ought to oppose the emergency forces which, as we have witnessed first hand, come loaded with antagonistic feelings toward us, but when they live with us their antagonism changes into support. This creates a general global opinion on the side of our cause.

[Question] In the south you are regarded as the ruler of the roost in Amal, if you will, and that you always spearheaded opposition to transgressions in the south. Your name is often linked to measures against Hizballah elements. You are also known for not severing your contacts with the Iranian embassy and its sympathizers. How do you reconcile these two matters? And where can the white thread be separated from the black thread?

[Answer] I personally know what I want. Consequently, I can talk to and debate anyone. I have no complex toward people and can sit with any person save, of course, the Israeli enemy. We can sit with the Iranian brothers to discuss anything about the emergency forces and resistance action and often we have been able to reach some kind of conviction. As far as we are concerned, the security issue is very essential to our people who have sacrificed much and endured much. If we cannot guarantee electric power, security and social services, we at least can spare them our maleficence.

[Question] The more important matter at hand is Israeli withdrawal from two-thirds of al-Haqban and al-Khazzan. What is the story behind this withdrawal?

[Answer] Al-Haqban hill drained the Israeli enemy and was its Achilles heel.

[Question] Even though Israel controlled the neighboring villages?

[Answer] It was vulnerable to military action by resistance fighters, besides its entanglement with UNIFIL positions which created international pressure on Israel and Antoine Lahad. My estimation is the recent withdrawal was for the sake of the United Nations, especially since the death of international soldiers in the area generated an anti-Israeli sentiment.

This is one reason. The other reason is to close the enemy's drain pit.

[Question] Rumors made the rounds in the border strip based on some press reports that contacts and pledges were made by the Amal Movement to halt operations in the area prior to withdrawal from the Yatir Hills. How true is that?

[Answer] I assure you that this is nothing but prattle and I assure you that the only thing between us and Israel is the sword. Our struggle with it is over existence and not a conflict over boundaries. It is either its existence or ours. This is a strategic situation.

[Question] Do you anticipate further withdrawal?

[Answer] I think that they will withdraw from al-Shaqrah hill and Bra'shit.

[Question] How do you perceive future relations between the liberated area and the border strip?

[Answer] Relations with the border strip inhabitants must be strong and special. People there do not receive Lebanon's water, radio station or TV.

[Question] You mean that Ayyub Hamid's information media does not reach the inhabitants of the border zone?

[Answer] The radio station, the radio station, not Ayyub's media. We do not blame brother Ayyub. We fear that these citizens who only see Israeli soldiers and Israeli pictures and only hear the Israeli voice and drink Israeli water will some day despair. We always used to emphasize that no one coming from the border strip should be arrested, even if he were an agent. Agents must be executed within the border strip if convicted of cooperation with the enemy. If I am to arrest those people, they will not come to the liberated parts of their country and this is what Israel wants. We must make it easier for the citizens to come to Tyre rather than go to Israel. In short, we all have failed the border strip inhabitants and have to offer assistance to the people there and hold a census. If we fail to do that they will forget about us.

[Question] You mean occupation will be for a long time?

[Answer] We have to prepare ourselves for anything.

[Question] Do you expect an Israeli withdrawal from Jizzin?

[Answer] There is a rumor about possible withdrawal from Kfar Falus to Rum.

[Question] Partial withdrawal?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Is there anything on the horizon about Jizzin?

[Answer] Jizzin has a delicate strategic situation. It is a joint between the south and the Biqa' and the Shuf and Hasbayyah. No one knows what Israel has in store for Jizzin and whether it wants to withdraw and cause a blowup.

[Question] Is there anything on the horizon?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Do you hope to solve the Lebanese crisis and how do you perceive such a solution?

[Answer] No solution during Amin al-Jumayyil's regime.

[Question] Should a solution come about in the future, do you think it would be under the umbrella of Arab and international concurrence?

[Answer] Everyone concedes Syria's role. What do you mean Arab?

[Question] I mean a Syrian role, not, of course, the Sultanate of Oman for example.

[Answer] All the superpowers are against the partition of Lebanon and this is another positive point.

[Question] It appears that the European countries are convinced of the need to resolve the crisis.

[Answer] The European countries are convinced that the present regime is not qualified to continue.

[Question] Some say that the solution to the Lebanese problem begins with the agreement between the two major popular forces in the country. What do you think?

[Answer] The solution lies in their agreement. Today, Patriarch Mar Nisrallah Butrus Sufayr has been adopting many good positions and there are other worthy Christian forces such as President Sulayman Franjiyah. There are also the Vatican's positive positions and many other positives. But no solution during this regime.

[Question] How do you perceive the Lebanon of the future?

[Answer] I perceive it as anti-Israeli, a Lebanon for justice and equal rights and duties among citizens.

[Question] Do you think that the Arab summit will offer Lebanon a solution?

[Answer] I do not think that anything will come out of it.

[Question] Why did you accept the chairmanship of the movement's executive committee since you had turned it down previously?

[Answer] I did not accept. I was drafted.

[Question] Did you feel that the tasks ahead of you required you to accept the number-two position in the Amal leadership?

[Answer] There is much to be done and I hope things will turn out well.

[Question] Will your central tasks in Beirut take away from your role in the south?

[Answer] My role is everywhere.

[Question] There is an adage that says if you want to tame someone you have to promote him.

[Answer] A position does not make a man, but rather it is the man that makes a position for himself.

[Question] Is Amal adopting any new organizational measures?

[Answer] There will be many measures coming up. We are now working to consolidate the decisionmaking process to get rid of all malignancies and loopholes so that the organization will be supreme.

[Question] How are things between you and the movement's organizational officer, Mahmud Faqih?

[Answer] Things are good at present. We had our differences in the past, but these have been settled.

[Question] And between you and Hasan Hashim?

[Answer] I have the greatest respect and affection for him personally, but I was against his moves last March. There is a time for everything.

[Question] Is there a reconciliation in the works?

[Answer] I do not think there is anything of the sort.

[Question] What is the future of the movement's many security and military agencies?

[Answer] We are working to establish a regular central army, provided that weapons of the popular forces and militias will be gathered in specific centers and distributed at the proper time.

[Question] What is the role of 'Aqil Hamiyah?

[Answer] 'Aqil is the central military officer.

[Question] Do you have any disagreements with him?

[Answer] Not at all. He is the general military officer and carries out his duties in this capacity.

**Shams-al-Din Considers 'Democracy of Majority' Inevitable**

**44040023a London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic**  
**7-13 Nov 87 pp 19-20**

[Interview with Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, vicechairman of Lebanon's Shiite Islamic Council, by Yusif Khazim; in Oxford, date not specified]

[Text] When Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, vicechairman of the Shiite Islamic Council in Lebanon, lectured on "Islamic-Christian Coexistence" at Oxford University in mid October, he won the admiration of British orientalists as well as those university students and professors who attended. Despite time limitations, Shaykh Shams-al-Din touched on jurisprudence, history, social justice, and economics; heralded a cool and balanced discussion of the situation in Lebanon; and underlined the importance of Islamic-Christian coexistence. AL-TADAMUN seized that occasion to conduct the following interview on conditions in Lebanon.

[Question] You proposed a plan for "a democracy of the majority" in Lebanon. How can this plan be implemented with the militias in control?

[Answer] First, it is a plan for the future and we are in no hurry to have it implemented. Meanwhile, we learn from the experiences of others most of whose efforts we believe are winding down. The right time will come for this plan whose implementation, God willing, is dependent on the will of the people. It is gaining acceptance among intellectuals and other citizens. Of course, the domination of armed factions and militias prevents citizens from expressing their opinions and beliefs freely. However, the era of weapons must eventually end and give way to the era of reason. The core of the plan is to concentrate on organized and planned action by the people.

[Question] Does this mean we have to wait until weaponry exhausts its role in order to implement the plan? which calls for action by the people?

[Answer] No, because there already exists organized and planned action by the people to take the plan a few steps forward. When it was first proposed, the plan evoked both surprise and denunciation. It was said that nobody could commit to it because it was alien to Lebanese nature. With time, however, people realized that it was an ideal and balanced solution responsive to the requirements of political change on one hand and to the realities of the Lebanese equation on the other.

[Question] Lebanon currently suffers from national flaws and the absence of a unified national plan. Do you believe these flaws to be in policy or in methods?

[Answer] In both. Solutions proposed so far have basic gaps and flaws because they preserve the sectarian context and attempt, under the guise of partial abolition of

political sectarianism, to redistribute authority, administration, and the budget among the various sects according to various formulas. The only exception was the "ten Islamic principles" which we announced at least two years ago before announcing our plan for "a democracy of the majority." Reform was our concern then. The ten Islamic principles were not flawed in form or substance because they did not deal with sectarian considerations but with the national entity and the national political society. As to methods, the entire public opinion knows that methods depend on arms, fear, and the abrogation of people's freedoms by militias of all types in both Muslim and Christian territories. Such methods create contradictions. When one party pushes militarily, the other side pushes back. Perhaps the reason for these flaws in policy and methods is that control is in the hands of armed militias which are incapable of looking beyond narrow sectarianism to reach the comprehensive national view needed to find solutions to the crisis. Such a view would not be narrowly concerned only with the influence of a single party, a single sect, or even a single religion be it Islam or Christianity.

[Question] You had advocated unity among Lebanese Islamic movements in order to gain political effectiveness in implementing their joint programs while retaining their individual characters. Is such a union still possible despite escalating sectarian conflicts? Who will initiate such action?

[Answer] Such a union is still possible and we still call for its formation because the reasons underlying it are now more pressing than ever. How can Islamic action develop in Lebanon and be productive without coordination and in the shadow of dissension? We believe in the need for such a framework. The initiative for it must come from non-sectarians in order to introduce a new element of balance that would neutralize sectarians or reduce their sectarianism.

[Question] Why has there been no call for a special spiritual summit to heal the ever-widening rift between the sects?

[Answer] A spiritual summit is always called for. It is always possible, and easy, to hold one but the elements of success were absent during the past three or four years and a summit could not have been meaningful. This still holds true even despite the belief that a summit is always beneficial. I fear that such a summit may become informational in character or become counterproductive by creating expectations that we can not bring to fruition. At any rate, I think conditions are becoming more favorable for a productive summit. It will not take place as soon as some may hope because certain conditions must first prevail in the land and ordinary people must be free from militia domination. This has begun to crystallize even though things could have been better defined in the eastern region.

[Question] National resistance in the south of Lebanon had an effective start against occupation. It was a true popular resistance by all parties but has developed into a monopoly for a certain segment. Will this impair its effectiveness?

[Answer] No. The question should be posed differently. No one element can claim credit for the resistance in the South. It is a function of many elements in various forms. The Amal movement resists. Hizballah resists. Comprehensive civil resistance and the so-called National Resistance also resist. It is wrong to attempt to give the impression that resistance to Israel comes only from a single quarter. We said repeatedly that we are not about to tell the Southerners what to do; rather, we are in a position to learn from them. They have, as they always do, carried out their commitment and duty to confront and resist. To resistors from various sects and factions we say that resistance to the Israeli enemy is a common cause. They must cooperate and coordinate their work. We have been proposing and are working towards the creation of an operations room to coordinate between all elements of the resistance and organize an expertise exchange in order to increase effectiveness. The resistance will continue to operate for a longtime since Israeli withdrawal does not seem imminent. Therefore, it is everybody's responsibility to maintain such action at a high level of effectiveness and efficiency through the synergy of cooperation and solidarity.

[Question] Has your call for solidarity met with any success?

[Answer] Consolidation of cadres and organizations cannot be accomplished by a mere resolution or by wishful thinking. It is in fact an educational process. Everybody must be convinced. We issue constant reminders that this is needed. The assumption is that everybody is sincere, well-meaning, and in search of the best formula. Our formula, which we believe to be ideal, needs convincing and we hope that that will be gradually accomplished.

[Question] How do you view current sentiment that conditions are ripe for presidential elections next year?

[Answer] I am sure that the right conditions will exist, and there will be regional and local consensus on elections to choose a president for the republic. It would be difficult to hold presidential elections if current conditions were to continue, which is doubtful. We believe that these conditions will disappear and circumstances will allow the elections. Naturally, the crisis may not end and political conflict will not cease but there will be an understanding to hold the elections.

[Question] Talking of the presidency, let me ask you about the form of government in Lebanon. You say that the establishment of an Islamic republic in Lebanon is not a realistic view. How do you respond to the many proponents of such a republic?

[Answer] Our plan for Lebanon is "democracy of the majority." I will say no more.

[Question] You said that Lebanon is an integral part of its [Arab] environment and should assume full responsibilities towards it. Do you believe that the Arabs at present are totally overlooking Lebanon and its problems?

[Answer] I don't think that there is Arab disregard. Lebanon has always been, and still is, an Arab priority. I do not believe that the Arabs have forsaken Lebanon. Unfortunately, they are preoccupied with other, urgent, problems. The Lebanese crisis is very complicated and requires a greater effort. The seeming Arab neglect and disregard for the Lebanese problem is caused by preoccupation and not by neglect. 12945

**Sa'adah Comments on 'Syrian Presence,' Current Government**  
*44040023b London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic*  
7-13 Nov 87 pp 21-22

[Interview with Dr. George Sa'adah, president of the Phalange, by May 'Abbud; in Beirut, date not specified.]

[Text] Dr. George Sa'adah, president of the Phalange and vicechairman of the "Lebanese Front," is also the deputy from Batrun. He was interviewed on the current situation and the events that led to it and on the recent views of president Amin al-Jumayyil, especially as expressed in the speeches he gave in Quebec and later in New York. He was asked if these views reflected Phalange policy and what is to be expected in the future. The following interview with Dr. Sa'adah took place in the "central house" in the Sayfi area on the "green line".

[Question] Why is there such a "freeze" in Lebanon?

[Answer] The reasons are well-known; that is, if we can describe the status quo as a "freeze." Maybe things are moving so fast we can't feel them. Planet earth moves so fast we are totally unaware of the movement. Indeed there is movement on all levels, albeit not productive. There is a lot of movement, internally and externally. The president of the republic attended the Francophone conference and journeyed to the United Nations, the United States, and Switzerland. There were also trips by His Beatitude the Maronite Patriarch to the Vatican and later to the Soviet Union. Domestically, the Lebanese Front is engaged in constant meetings and contacts and there is the "Islamic meeting." New fronts are being formed every so often while others disband or survive for a short while. But all this activity is for naught because the conspiracy against Greater Lebanon is not yet complete. When it is, the payoff will be a conclusion of some sort which is yet unknown.

[Question] It seems that there is hardly any activity in the dialogue between the eastern and western sectors. Would this indicate that the dialogue has totally ceased and that there is no room for agreement?

[Answer] The dialogue continues and should never be interrupted. The policy of turning a deaf ear is to blame for the lack of progress. The Lebanese would have reached agreement a long time ago had foreign hands left them free to deal with each other. The conflict, in its essence, was not worth all this destruction that befell Lebanon and everybody in it, and especially the stifling economic crisis that threatens all despite everybody's fruitless efforts to solve it. That crisis is a link in the conspiracy against Lebanon.

[Question] At President Camille Sham'un's funeral, Mr. Walid Junblatt said: "There is no longer somebody in the Christian camp with whom to have a dialogue." What do you say to that?

[Answer] President Sham'un engaged in dialogues for a very long time but that does not mean that no other Christian leader is capable of them. President Sham'un engaged in dialogues but the result was the same, with him or without him. Walid Junblatt and others will be able to find a Christian for a dialogue if that dialogue is serious. The end result is that all of us have agreed on certain parameters that are not to be exceeded.

[Question] Is there any dialogue or contact between the two camps?

[Answer] Yes but they are not fruitful because, as I mentioned, foreign elements and intervention prevent the Lebanese from dealing with each other.

[Question] President Jumayyil made 11 trips abroad, three of which to the United Nations. We are still where we used to be, so what's the point in travel and contacts?

[Answer] The only point in foreign contacts is to let the world know that Lebanon still exists, that its legitimate government still operates, and that it is the only authority that can speak for Lebanon at international forums.

[Question] That is the only mission?

[Answer] This is not a mission; it is the end result. The mission is to search for solutions and to advocate the Lebanese cause in international gatherings which might influence the course of events. Unfortunately, the world conscience is out of order and nobody cares about Lebanon. We are told repeatedly by international organizations and foreign centers of power: Nobody will take care of you if you, as Lebanese, do not take care of yourselves. Very very few understand the situation in Lebanon and that the Lebanese can not agree among themselves because of obvious reasons that many wish to ignore.

[Question] There has been a noticeable change of tone in President Jumayyil's recent speeches, especially at Francophone when he referred to the Syrian presence as the "Syrian occupation." Yet he was more diplomatic at the United Nations. Why is this change to a hard-line by the president in his last year in office?

[Answer] As his administration nears its conclusion, the president faces several alternatives and he must double his activity and exert efforts, sometimes exceptional, to hasten the search for a solution to the Lebanese problem. The president of Lebanon cannot stand inactive in the face of the conspiracies against Lebanon. That is why he travels the world to explain the Lebanese cause. I don't see a great difference between what he said in Quebec and what he said at the United Nations. Maybe he expressed himself more diplomatically at the United Nations.

[Question] In an unprecedented move he described the Syrian presence as occupation.

[Answer] There are those who believe that the Syrian presence in Lebanon is legitimate since it was requested by the legitimate Lebanese authority. Those same people know that the president had raised that question at the Tunis summit, if I remember correctly. He also informed the Arab League in writing that he had terminated the work of the Arab Deterrent Force in Lebanon and asked their commander, Col. Sami al-Khatib, to terminate his mandate. In view of all these steps by the president, no one should consider the Syrian presence in Lebanon as legitimate.

[Question] It is understood that Syrian forces entered West Beirut at the request of a number of ministers, the prime minister, and the speaker of the house. Aren't those legitimate authority?

[Answer] Legitimacy is indivisible and is exercised by the Council of Ministers. Not every minister represents authority in matters dealing with the country's future. A minister is in charge of his ministry and is its chief administrator. Political issues that impact the country as a whole can not be addressed by any individual minister or even by the prime minister but should be handled by the council of ministers as a body.

[Question] What about House Speaker Mr. Husayn al-Husayni?

[Answer] The Speaker of the House has no relevancy here. He heads the legislative branch not the executive branch. He may put a resolution or draft law before the House for discussion and approval but he can not take executive authority upon himself. I believe that Speaker Husayni understands his job perfectly and cannot overstep the role normally assigned to a chamber of deputies.

[Question] The Syrians entered Lebanon in 1976 at the request of the Christian side, and of the Phalange specifically. Why was that legitimate then but not legitimate now at the request of the western sector?

[Answer] If the Christians, all Christians, were to request any power to enter any territory, it would be a request by a segment of the people. Legitimacy, in everybody's book, is vested only in the authority represented by the Council of Ministers and the presidency of the republic. There is no way to legitimize any other request whether by the Phalange, the Lebanese Front, or any other group.

[Question] Both Syrian and Israeli armies entered Lebanon either at the request of or through facilitation by the Christian side which is now demanding their withdrawal. Why this change in policy?

[Answer] The Christians did not request entry by either the Syrians or the Israelis. When the Syrians entered Lebanon they asked permission of nobody. I took part in the original negotiations with the Syrians and let me remind you that the Syrians crossed the border, reached Bhamdun, and stopped there under their own initiative. The matter was then brought up before the Arab League which gave authority to the Arab Deterrent Force and not to the Syrian army. The Deterrent Force was composed of 30,000 troops—Syrians, Egyptians, Sudanese, Saudis, and Yemenis. All the countries later withdrew their forces from Lebanon and only the Syrians remained. As to the Israelis, they entered Lebanon as an act of war and swept large areas of Lebanon. No one requested their entry or knew of it because of conflicts produced by Palestinian movements at the Lebanese-Israeli border. The Israeli war that led to Israel's entry into Lebanon was codenamed Peace for Galilee.

[Question] People in the western sector are comfortable with Syrian presence. Thefts, especially of cars, have been noticeably reduced. People can now go out at night.

[Answer] Of course, because conditions in the western sector had reached such a frightening level of anarchy that people sought any savior. The Lebanese army could have done the same thing had it been permitted to do so.

[Question] The Lebanese army was not allowed to play such a role, even in the eastern sector?

[Answer] The army was not prevented from playing any role in our territory which, fortunately, enjoys law and order. Of course, isolated incidents do take place now and then as they did in the past when the state controlled all public utilities and services.

[Question] Would you equate the Syrian presence with the Israeli presence?

[Answer] There is a difference, of course. Regardless of whether the Syrians entered in accordance with or against Lebanese wishes, their presence in Lebanon has

taken on legitimacy over time. Their continued presence here may be described as unlawful but the Israeli army entered as an act of war and occupied large areas of Lebanon. We recognize and admit that there must be relations between Syria and Lebanon—relations of give and take and of understanding each other's situations. We are both members of the Arab League but it has been very unfortunate lately that we speak two different languages. The Syrians have to understand the position of the Lebanese—of all the Lebanese and not just of one faction. We believe that Syria can play a fundamental role in solving the Lebanese crisis. We have asked it, and still ask it, to assume that role instead of supporting one faction against another.

[Question] Are there efforts to resume the dialogue between Syria and the Phalange?

[Answer] The dialogue with the Syrians stopped when the tripartite agreement was announced. There has been no attempt at resuming it since.

[Question] President Jumayyil is in power so it must follow that the Phalange is in power....

[Answer] (he interrupts) No. The assumption of power by a Phalangist is different from the ascension to power by the party. We in Lebanon are different from other countries of the world, such as the U.S. or Britain, where a leader is given the helm of government by his party. The government, and especially the administration, is formed of party cadres. In Lebanon, it is true that the president is a Phalangist and a graduate of Phalange school. When he was elected, he was chosen as Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil and not as leader of the party. When he took over the government he was no different from other presidents. He formed a coalition government and did not change the administration. Whenever a Phalangist gets an appointment now and again, we hear talk of how the Phalange dominates the administration..etc. The Phalange cannot be considered the ruling party. Rather, a Phalangist has become president of the republic.

[Question] It is said that President Jumayyil has been adopting a hard line lately in order to amass power and return to the leadership of the Christian camp at the end of his term.

[Answer] Why is it not said that he has grown impatient after exhausting every possible effort, contacts, working papers, meetings, conferences etc.?

[Question] There is conjecture that conflicting reaction to Jumayyil's speeches and views will result in escalated political action that may coincide with escalated security measures upon President Jumayyil's return from the United Nations.

[Answer] That is an old tune that we hear every once in a while. Pessimists sometimes even go as far as specifying the day and hour and how long the action would take. I don't think it is in any body's interest today to disturb the waters politically or security-wise especially since we are embarking on such a major undertaking i.e. electing a new president of the republic.

[Question] Minister Nabih Birri says there will be no ministerial changes until the end of the administration. You, on the other hand, call for a new government. Where do people stand in this conflict?

[Answer] We are not calling for a new government for the sake of change. We called upon the ministers to return and convene the Council of Ministers in order to deal with deteriorating living conditions. People are going hungry and can bear no more. We said that either the ministers meet to deal with the problems of the people or resign to allow the formation of a new government. Our demand is less political and more of a social emergency measure to deal with the economic crises resulting from deterioration in the Lebanese situation brought about by the boycott and the ministers' abstentions from Council of Ministers meetings. Our objective is not to ask the impossible or seek the dismissal of one minister or another. We need to ensure for the people a suitable quality of life. The crisis is unbearable and hunger haunts every household while the ministers play at issuing statements and engaging in trivia. We ask them to carry out their responsibilities and allow the formation of a new government to do what needs to be done. The people have suffered a great deal and can suffer no more. 12945

## SAUDI ARABIA

Magazine Laments 'Vicious' Misrepresentation of Islam in West  
44040038 Riyadh AL-DA'WAH in Arabic 12 Oct 87  
pp 14-19

[Article: "Cover Story: Islam as Depicted by the Western Media"]

[Text] The West found out about Islam from theologians and Orientalists who presented to westerners a gloomy and faulty image of Islam that was marred by much distortion and misrepresentation. Islam was portrayed as an uncivilized, backward religion whose principles were based on violence, lust, and injustice, and the prophet of Islam was depicted as a magician who managed to establish his religion and entice people into adopting it by giving those who espoused his religion sexual license. But far be it from the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, to do that.

Today, when we contemplate the image that westerners have of Islam, we find no major difference between that image and the one which existed in people's minds in the Middle Ages and after the Crusades. It is the same image,

if not worse and more distorted. In fact, new elements have been added to it: Islam is associated with an obese and wasteful oil tycoon who wants to do away with the international economy. It is also associated with the terrorist practices which abound in today's world.

If westerners in the past saw Islam through the eyes of theologians and orientalists, today they see it through the eyes of the western media which are playing the role that theologians and orientalists played in the past. Although the means have been changed and the methods are different, both the goal and the image are the same. That image has been neither changed nor altered.

What are the reasons and motives that make the West have such a distorted view of Islam? What are the dangerous effects arising from that view? How can these evil campaigns against Islam and Muslims in western society be confronted? Numerous questions are being asked by AL-DA'WAH as it starts its report on this important question. AL-DA'WAH posed these questions to a select group of knowledgeable and experienced men, hoping thereby to make a contribution to starting a dialogue on the subject and paving the way for a sound, scientific and rational understanding of this grave phenomenon.

[Signed] The editorial staff

Dr Jamal Badawi, the well-known proponent of Islam in North America, defines those aspects of Islam which are frequently discussed and attacked in the western media. He says, "The western attack on Islam in the past comprised the question of Muslims' backwardness, and that backwardness was linked to Islam. In a few instances that link is not explicitly stated, but it is rather implied. So much has been written about that subject and so much emphasis has been placed on it, it is now a matter of convention for readers and listeners.

"Second, Islam is attacked in references that are made to political backwardness; to the absence of liberties, as those are defined by the West; to human rights violations; and to the suppression of people's personal liberties. Westerners also look at incidents that are happening on the Arab and international scene, particularly those that happened in recent years—incidents such as airplane hijackings, cars wired with explosives, and terrorism—and they think that Islam commands such actions. They call Muslims terrorists when in fact they call anyone who disagrees with them a terrorist. But, as they say, it is difficult to justify terrorist actions, such as the killing of an airplane or ship passenger, on an Islamic or a moral basis. Westerners do not see the perpetrator of such actions as someone who might be compelled to carry them out because he was subjected to injustice. That does not mean, however, that Islam approves of such actions. And yet, westerners do not say that such actions are actions taken by individuals. Instead, they call such actions Islamic terrorism. Such a statement was

made in a recent issue of NEWSWEEK Magazine. I sent a letter to the magazine to correct that misconception, and we pray God that it was printed."

Dr Jamal Badawi thinks that a previous distorted image of Islam provides the basis for this deliberate distortion of Islam and its principles and the association between it and terrorist problems. That previous image was formed by books that were written in the past about Islam and Muslims, especially books written by orientalists and converts to Christianity.

Dr Badawi says, "If we were to go beyond the local media and examine the books that explain Islam or those that are written about it, particularly by missionaries and orientalists, we would find in them emphasis on the claim that believing in the unity of God was a primitive idea suitable for the conditions of the desert. Those missionaries and orientalists stress the fact that anyone can arrive at that simple notion and conclude that there was One Creator. They play down the importance of believing in the unity of God even though that belief is a basic principle in Islam. They also claim that the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, wrote the Koran and then claimed that it was divinely inspired. Some of those missionaries and orientalists say that the prophet added to the Koran what he had learned from previously written books and from news [about people], and that God Almighty's description of those people—"... A mortal taught him...[al-Nahl: 103]—fit him. Those missionaries and orientalists say that the messenger, may God bless him and grant him salvation, misunderstood some things that have to do with mankind. He confused Harun's sister, who was Musa's sister, with Harun's sister in a reference to Mary. These are mistakes that, of course, can be easily refuted, but most people don't know that.

"The missionaries and orientalists also say that the Koran did not deny the Trinity but that it did deny a deviant image of Christianity which holds the view that Mary is divine. That, of course, is obviously wrong. God Almighty said, "...do not say: 'Three.' [al-Nisa': 171]. But as far as women and polygamy are concerned, missionaries and orientalists place emphasis on the ideal image they have of a Muslim: a man who is seated and surrounded by women and stories of the Thousand and One Nights."

His excellency Dr Mani' Hammad al-Jihni, secretary general of the World Forum for Muslim Youth concurs with Dr Jamal Badawi's presentation about the distorted image of Islam.

Dr al-Jihni says, "While conceding that it is wrong to generalize, it is also a big mistake to deal with psychological and social matters and international relations as though they were firm mathematical rules. There is a number of fair-minded people in the West who express their opinions boldly and who would bear splendid and noble testimony for Islam and for the Koran. They

would also testify for Islam's great prophet, for Islamic civilization and for Islamic contributions. While acknowledging all that, we must also acknowledge that the image of Islam in contemporary western media is predominantly gloomy: it is full of distortions, and clouded by implications and innuendos.

"To a group of westerners Islam is the religion of slavery. To others it is a religion that allows polygamy. A third group associates Islam with backwardness, and a fourth group sees it as the source of terrorism. Thus, the images that the West and westerners have of Islam are varied, but they associate with Islam these and similar attributes like reactionism, inertia, superstition and idolatry."

We asked what were the reasons or motives the western media would have for their involvement in a continuous war against Islam and Muslims. His Excellency Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Shibili, undersecretary of the Ministry of Higher Education, answered that question and said that these motives and reasons varied from place to place and from age to age. He does believe, however, that the most important of these reasons are:

"First, non-Muslims are quite ignorant about Islam. It seems to me that many Muslims, not to mention non-Muslims, know nothing about the philosophy, objectives and true goals of Islam.

"Second, the enemies of Islam and all those who are irked and troubled by Islam's glory and magnificence have their own private aims and motives.

"Third—and this is a principal reason for the media war against Islam that is no less important than the two previous ones—Muslims' conduct, but especially Arabs' conduct, is often a direct factor in distorting the image of Islam that is presented to other peoples.

"I am quite certain that it is the Muslims themselves who are the source of this slanted image. Muslims's conduct is the biggest source of material for distorting the image of Islam in non-Muslim countries. How then can we expect the western media to be neutral when presenting an image of Islam and its ideas when Muslims themselves behave in a manner that contradicts Islam's instructions and morals?"

His excellency Dr 'Ali Ibrahim al-Namlah, deputy dean of the College of Social Sciences at Imam Muhammad ibn Sa'ud Islamic University, thinks that the following reasons are among the most prominent ones for the distorted image of Islam that exists in the western media:

1. "The Church depicts Islam as a colonialist religion whose aim is to plunder a country's resources and enslave its people.

2. "When Christians conspired against Islam and decided to do away with Muslims or confine them to the Arabian Peninsula, the Muslims' retaliation was severe.

3. "Christian clergymen feel that Islam in its pure form threatens their own private interests which are based on their efforts to use Christianity as a means for promoting those interests.

4. "Zionist attempts are being made to concentrate Jewish presence in the Islamic east so that Jews can serve as the area's policeman and protect the people in that region from the barbarism of the Third World.

5. "A few international organizations carried out successive attacks whose objectives included the elimination of everything that had anything to do with religion.

6. "Islam is distorted by a few factions and groups such as Babis, Baha'is, Qadiyanis, Batinis, and other similar factions that claim to be Muslim. These factions and groups can be found on all levels of western society."

Dr Mani' al-Jihni says, "The Church played a major role in disparaging Islam and slandering its noble prophet, its Koran, its civilization, and its history. There is also a profound, historical emotional scar behind this gloomy, unfair image of Islam that exists in the West. Islam had one day managed to penetrate and conquer many locations in the Christian West. The West, which still has profound feelings about that, has not yet come to terms with those feelings. And it is that which makes western hearts full of resentment for Islam and Muslims."

In addition, Dr al-Jihni lists other reasons why the image of Islam is distorted in the western media. These are:

#### The Crusades

"The Christian West wanted to invade the Muslims' countries, and the well-known wars whose battles were fought over a period of almost two centuries erupted for numerous reasons. Although the West did realize major victories in the early stages of the war, it was ultimately defeated. The West's defeat was crippling, and that defeat caused the West to fall back within its own borders for many centuries where it remained until the dawn of the age of colonialism. The West then made a new attempt to invade Muslims' countries. But there is no doubt that the major disappointment of the Crusades had left a deep scar on the western psyche. That scar would flare up occasionally and become one of the reasons why the West misunderstands and resents Islam.

"When Christianity was defeated militarily in the Crusades, Christian priests and literary men were mobilized to disparage Islam and distort its image to satisfy the Christian thirst for revenge against Islam and Muslims and to guard against Christians admiring and accepting Islam."

#### Colonialism

"When the West emerged from the Middle Ages and ventured into the modern age, it was full of strength, vigor, and a desire to expand and triumph. The Arabs, however, were becoming weaker. Thus, when the West launched its major colonialist invasion of Muslims' countries, it was able to achieve a sweeping victory. The entire Islamic world fell into western hands, and only a few regions, such as al-Hijaz, Nejd, and Afghanistan managed to escape that fate. Ultimately, however, the colonialist invaders had to leave Muslims' countries because of the heroic resistance which was carried out against them by Muslims. The western colonialists had to leave Muslims' countries also because of the international conflict and because colonialism's philosophy, mentality and method of exercising domination and control had changed. There is no doubt that the battle between Muslims and colonialists had a variety of consequences among which was the awakening of Christian resentment for Arabs among westerners. Old and new resentments joined forces to distort the image of Islam and Muslims [further]."

#### The Foolish Conduct of Some Muslims

"It is sad that a number of Muslims engage in foolish conduct which does not do them, their religion, or their nation any good. This conduct manifests itself in different ways. Sometimes, Muslims indulge in objectionable, wasteful behavior. Other times, they demonstrate moral turpitude which is abhorrent to proper and virtuous people, not to mention clergymen and people who are earnestly concerned about the religion. A third example of such foolish conduct is hijacking airplanes or attacking innocent people. It is true that the West does sometimes blow such shameful behavior out of proportion, but it is also true that this foolish behavior does exist and that its scope is indefensible."

"This foolish conduct is very harmful to Islam and to Muslims. It makes the image of Islam and Muslims in the West a gloomy one, and it gives every malicious or ignorant person an opportunity to use that gloomy image in the worst possible way."

#### The Middle East Problem

"Ever since its creation in Palestine, Israel has been distorting facts and spreading falsehoods about the Arabs and Islam. It has been trying to convince the West that it is the only democracy in the region and that Arab and Islamic countries were conspiring to destroy it. Israel has been trying to convince the West that it is the religious duty of all Christians and Jews to support it because Palestine is the land of the Second Coming of Christ and must, [therefore], be purged of Muslims until final victory is achieved for Christian and Jewish followers of the Old Testament."

"Although the picture has improved somewhat in the past few years, Zionism is still engaged in tireless efforts to distort the image of Islam and Muslims, and the image of Arabs in particular."

#### Bias in the Western Media

"The western media in general are biased against us despite the fact that there are good opportunities for us to speak our minds. Although objective and honorable writers can be found in the media, this bias is caused by ignorance, overzealousness, and the influence of anti-Islamic Jewish, Zionist, and colonialist leaders. That is why the western media contribute directly or indirectly to distorting the image of Islam and Muslims."

#### The Impotence of the Islamic Media

"The democratic systems and journalistic and media traditions which are part of political life in the West offer the Islamic media a good opportunity which they have not yet put to good use. The West offers freedom, an opportunity to express another opinion, and legal guarantees and rights for writers. There are people in the West who can be persuaded with rational arguments, logical dialogue, and objective expository methods. Unfortunately, we have not made good use of this favorable climate, except in the narrowest sense. Muslims should have seized that valuable opportunity to provide sensible, unblemished information which can be used to defend their religion and their world and communicate God's message. They should have provided such information so they could wipe out that sinful, unfair image through which the West views Islam and Muslims."

[Question] The phenomenon of distorting Islam's image in the western media has negative effects on Muslims, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, it also has negative effects on the West and on the whole world. What are those effects?

His excellency Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Shibili answered that question and said, "The implications of this phenomenon are numerous. I think that foremost among these implications is the fact that the more distorted Islam's image in the western media is, the more difficult it is for advocates of Islam to set the record straight—and I'm not saying they would be embellishing that image. I do not say that because Islam, which has been honored by God, does not need to have its image improved. Islam's image is a good one if it is properly set forth and explained."

Dr 'Ali al-Namlah discusses the implications of this phenomenon and its effects on a number of specific points, chief among which are [the following]:

1. Moral decline in the West and a reversion to sinful ways continue in the absence of religious deterrence. At the same time the church has failed to find social solutions derived from a persuasive, divine method whose only aim is to seek constructive action and eschew any personal benefit.
2. A group of clergymen and politicians who are impostors continue to control people's minds and emotions in the name of civilization, progress, and the effort to keep religious reactionaries at arm's length. They make statements like religion is for God, but the country is for everyone.
3. Zionists continue to dominate western society, and they continue to use its expertise for the purpose of achieving the interests of international Zionism. Benjamin Franklin, one of the authors of the U.S. Constitution, warned about that 200 years ago.
4. Interference with the Islamic message in Europe and America in particular and in the whole world in general continues. Everyone is influenced by the distorted image of Islam and Muslims which is presented by the western media.
5. Accordingly, the entire world has lagged behind in finding out about life's noblest goal and about the true succession to God's territory.

In Dr al-Shibili's opinion, the role of confrontation and treatment in this grave issue comes afterwards. He says, "The best way for Muslims to resist these attacks is to change their own conduct in front of others. The media's role in confronting and correcting these distortions would follow. Islamic organizations in particular can invigorate Islam, placing emphasis on those points where there is much distortion. Such points pertain to punishments, polygamy, and inheritance for women. Permit me to say that I feel that many Islamic organizations have not yet done what is expected of them with regard to Islamic information. I am referring specifically to the Islamic Conference Organization. However, I do wish to commend the efforts which are being made in that regard by the Islamic World League."

Dr Mani' al-Jihni spoke at length about the means by which media campaigns which distort the image of Islam in the West can be confronted. He thinks, however, that we have to be cautious and realize that the required results will not be achieved immediately. "This is because mental convictions and past emotional feelings cannot be changed quickly. To accomplish such a change, the close coordination of efforts is a must. Good role models, patience and persistence are also necessary because time is part of the remedy. What is important for us is that we have a general, comprehensive plan which we can start implementing. Then, in as much as our actions are proper and our intentions sincere, God will come to our aid and grant us victory."

The most important means mentioned by Dr al-Jihni by which these media campaigns can be confronted are:

Good Islamic books are important means which can be used to correct western ideas about Islam. Thank God Almighty, we now have a good collection of good books, and these books are available now in most of the world's languages. Some of these books were written in those languages, but others are translations. With these books we can reach all people; we can show them the facts about Islam; or we can refute specific judicial errors about it. That is why we should do everything we can to increase the circulation of those books.

The climate of freedom in the West gives us a very good opportunity to pursue all means—conferences, symposiums, camps, lectures, lessons, or other such means—to promote Islam. That is why we have to take advantage of this climate and organize many of these good activities where the truth about Islam can be presented and doubts and falsehoods refuted. Consequently, the image which western man has of Islam will have to change.

It is being said that the magic of the age manifests itself in the media which can effect tremendous change in people's convictions. There is no doubt that that statement is to a large extent true. That is why we should make good use of western media institutions to make our voices heard, to communicate our message, and to defend our religion and our causes. It also behooves us to establish our own private media institutions which we could manage ourselves.

We should take good care of new Muslims because if those new Muslims understand Islam and stand up for it, they could become the best advocates for Islam among their people and relatives.

There is in western countries a number of people who are advocates for the cause of God. Whether those people are working on their own initiative or were sent by one agency or another, they are doing remarkable work. The number of such advocates should be increased, and everything should be done to increase their experience in that regard.

An effort must be made to revive Muslim communities which were assimilated or are about to be assimilated in western countries. All available means are to be utilized to accomplish that objective. Grants should be awarded, and advocates, schools, newspapers, mosques, clubs, and other means are to be used. These communities constitute a major force for Islam if they renounce western practices and return to Islam.

Close communications are to be maintained with fair-minded and bold people in the West who managed to get rid of the hard feelings against Islam which their societies had inherited.

That can be accomplished by asking those people to participate in our conferences and inviting them to visit our countries and meet with our intellectuals.

Responsibility for Islamic embassies must be entrusted to citizens of this nation who are sincere and well-informed and who are primarily interested in Islam. They should do everything possible to correct western ideas about Islam.

Finally, the most important matter is that of setting a good example. If each Muslim living in the West or visiting there were a true Muslim, he would set a good example. He would become an advocate for his religion more by what he does than by what he says. This applies to Muslims in the West who are students, expatriates, visitors, employees, or patients. It behooves us to remember here that Islam spread in a number of countries by the good example that was set by Muslims. In southeast Asia and in East Africa there are countries which have not been reached by the Muslims' armies, and yet these countries are Muslim. They adopted Islam because they admired and were influenced by the honesty of a merchant, the truth of a traveler or the message of a scholar. It was the good example set forth by such people and those like them that led those people to the right path of God."

Dr 'Ali al-Namlah concludes [his discussion of] this issue by making a brief yet adequate reference to the means by which attacks on Islam by the western media can be resisted. He says:

1. "Islamic action everywhere in the Islamic world is to be reinforced continuously by seeking God's pleasure in applying His laws and carrying out His commands. Islamic action in the western world is to be reinforced by paying attention to Islamic centers and helping them carry out their mission to spread Islam.

2. "Research centers are to be established, and those centers are to strive to present the true image of Islam in the language and style which people have been accustomed to: periodicals, movies, books, forums, lectures, and conferences.

3. "Time is to be bought from television and radio stations in the West, and this time is to be used to promote Islam in the comprehensive sense of the word.

4. "Western thinkers are to be invited and approached. They are to be given a clear picture of Islam and what it teaches with regard to society, the state, and international relations. This should be done not only on a theoretical basis, but also in practical terms.

5. "An effort is to be made to point out the danger that international Zionism and secret organizations pose to all societies. Their intentions, which may not be known to many of those who are deceived by them, are to be pointed out.

6. "At the same time attention is to be devoted to Muslims everywhere in the world. They are to be rescued from the predicaments, famine, ignorance, and foreign domination they are experiencing. That approach should be every Muslim's goal, dictated to him by what his religion taught him. This nation can thus have an opportunity to show everyone its attachment to God Almighty by working for this world at the same time Muslims are working for their afterlife."

#### Now Then...

This question deserves further discussion, debate and study. There is no doubt that what our distinguished guests offered us in their comments—for which we are grateful—has shed much light on this matter. We hope that this will be the starting point for further exploration of this grave issue. We extend a sincere invitation to our esteemed readers, to specialists, and to men who are knowledgeable and experienced in this subject, and we are asking them to enrich this discussion by adding their comments and discussions to it. We are asking them to analyze its implications and its effects and the ways by which western distortion campaigns against our faith, our values, and our civilization can be confronted. The invitation will remain open to every constructive dialogue, remark, or commentary.

08592

#### Telex Equipment Worth SR65 Million to Bangladesh

44000015 Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English  
12 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] Riyadh, Nov. 11—Saudi Arabia has donated telex and electronics equipment worth SR65 million to Bangladesh to help that country improve its telex and tele-printer services.

This was announced by Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones Minister Dr. Alawi Darweesh Kayal while receiving Bangladesh Ambassador Hidayat Ahmad at his office here yesterday. The minister discussed with him procedures of delivering the equipment as a gift from Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd to the government and brotherly people of Bangladesh, the equipment will be transported to that country within a few weeks on board 11 flights by the huge transport aircraft of the Royal Saudi Air Force.

The equipment includes two electronic digital telex exchanges having a capacity of 6,700 lines with all accessories of computer-controlled equipment, continuous self-powered generators and air conditioning devices, 20 time division multiplex units with a capacity of 46 lines for each unit, 1,000 telex teleprinters and an electronic invoices unit for issuing invoices automatically.

The equipment are the most sophisticated kind in the telex service. The Saudi Ministry of PTT will undertake the task of installation and testing of the equipment, besides training the Bangladesh personnel on operation and maintenance during a period of nine months.

Dr. Kayal described the gift as another act of generosity of King Fahd toward Muslim brothers everywhere and a concrete expression of his sincere interest in the affairs of the Muslim countries.

/06662

## SUDAN

**Assessment of Muslim Brothers Threat**  
*45000216b Khartoum HERITAGE in English*  
2 Nov 87 p 8

[Article by Alfred Logune Taban: "The Threat Posed by Muslim Brothers"]

[Text] As the country awaits the formation of the third government in less than 18 months, another major political development of great consequences is already taking place. That development is the astronomical rise in the fortunes of the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood Organisation.

More than a week ago, the organisation organised one of the biggest demonstrations in recent years in Khartoum. Although the government did organise one march in Khartoum of its own ferrying in aging Ansar diehards from far and wide, it was, unlike the one of the Muslim Brothers, badly organised and poorly attended. At the end of the march, the Muslim Brothers went to the University of Khartoum to celebrate the victory of the Islamist groups there. Despite the formation a coalition including the Umma Party, the Democratic Unionist Party, the African Nationalist Front (ANF) which represents Southern interests at the University and the leftist parties, the Islamist groups captured all the 40 seats that were up for grabs at the Khartoum University Students Union. As if that was not enough, the Islamist groups also captured all the 30 seats in the Students Union of Omdurman Islamic University across the Nile.

Earlier, Muslim sisters stunned politicians by capturing 75 percent of the seats in the Nurses Trade Union despite a determined resistance put up by the secular forces headed by the communist, Neimat Malik. This week the Muslim Brothers challenged the government in Darfur in a public demonstration that claimed one life. A large section of the leadership in the Army has also come up openly in support of the Muslim fundamentalists.

These are very serious developments which need consideration because at that pace, this country could be ruled by Muslim fundamentalists within the next ten years or so. The consequences for the country and for Southerners in particular should that happen is pretty obvious.

First of all democracy will come to a speedy end. This is because the Muslim Brothers are blinded by their faith and believe that the Koran is the constitution and it comes before anything else.

Dr Hassan el Turabi, the leader of the fundamentalist Muslim Brothers Party, the National Islamic Front (NIF), once remarked that he did not care whether there is peace or war in the country. The important thing to him is that sharia law must be imposed and implemented.

The Muslim Brothers disregard for democracy started since it was formed in 1945 but it was only in 1968 when they engineered the throwing out of parliament 15 elected members of the Sudan Communist Party (SCP) that their disdain for democracy became obvious. It is not common that a group can boot out elected parliamentarians which it did not participate in bringing up in the first place.

Thus when and if the Muslim Brothers come to power, the first casualty will be democracy. It will be buried once and for all. The next in the list of casualties will be Southerners and non-Muslims in general. Life for them will not be worth living at all. What has helped the meteoric rise of Muslim Brothers and how can they be stopped from acquiring absolute power? This is the question I attempt to answer. While money has helped the party to score several goals in the political field, it is rather the failure of others that accounts for the popularity of this undemocratic group.

The failures of the present government which continue to mount every day have translated themselves into successes for the Islamic groups. Being the main opposition group, the prestige of the NIF in the eyes of the public has soared as that of the government has waned. The government's failure to arrest the economic decline the country is now experiencing is responsible to a great extent for too pro-NIF sympathies.

Also, in times of difficulties, a lot of people turn to God. Recent research indicates that poverty and economic deprivation has helped fuel the Islamic resurgence in this country. The Army too is getting more and more fanatical, mainly as a result of solid resistance it is receiving in Southern Sudan. The shouts of Alla Akbar are heard everywhere in Army concentrations and camps these days. The foundation of the Muslim fundamentalists in the Army was however laid during the Nimeiri era when Islamic teachings became almost mandatory in the Army.

The current wave of Islamic fundamentalism is however difficult to arrest unless the government takes immediate measures. The first one which has been talked of over and over but which unfortunately has not been taken seriously by the authorities is the ending of the war. The current hostilities in the bushes and towns of Southern Sudan are responsible for the considerable amount of

sympathy the Muslim Brothers enjoy in the ranks of the Army. Having failed to contain the SPLA advance, the Army is now turning to God to save it from total defeat. The Army now sees the Muslim Brothers Organisation not as a reckless ideological committed group bent on getting power through crooked ways but as Jesus Christ which would show it the way to God and end the Jihad (as it sees the war now) in its favour. If the war is ended, a master card would have been removed from the hands of the Muslim Brothers and their rise to power would have been delayed if not squashed altogether.

Another thing which is connected to the first is the resurrection of our bankrupt economy. Unless the Muslim government can come up with an economic policy that encourages work and savings, makes goods and commodities available at reasonable prices, the ego of the Muslim Brothers will continue to be inflated.

It is only through that that the suffering of the common man can be alleviated. Once that is done, the common man would then be able to free himself from the thought that only God can help improve his lot.

Thus unless the Muslim government moves fast to institute change, it risks Army action at a very early stage, a move that will be beneficial to nobody but the Muslim Brothers, risks bringing to power through default the Muslim Brothers, risks destroying the feeble democracy we currently have and risks condemning a sizeable portion of the citizens of this country to perpetual domination and servitude.

/06662

**SAP Joint Charter Published**  
*45000216 Khartoum HERITAGE in English*  
*12 Oct 87 p 3*

[Text] The Sudan African Parties in their concern for Peace in the country have recently sent a delegation to Ethiopia and East Africa to meet with the SPLA/SPLM with a view to re-activating the search for Peace; and they have successfully reached a common understanding for Peace in meetings in Addis Ababa, Kampala and Nairobi. And, in their desire to maintain and sustain this momentum for Peace, the Sudan African Parties have resolved to bind themselves to act together in Unity in order to attain genuine Peace.

It is therefore issuing this Joint Charter which shall form their basic conditions for joining in any government.

It is therefore resolved by the Parties signatory to this Charter that:

1) The September 1983 Sharia Laws be cancelled and that the country return to the 1956, laws as amended 1964 and 1974.

- 2) The proposed National Constitutional Conference be convened within a specified timetable.
- 3) The Koka-Dam Declaration shall be the basic of this Conference.
- 4) The Central and Regional Governments to be formed should be broad-based and ensure equitable sharing of Power for the Sudanese people particularly those from the deprived areas of the country and that portfolios of Sovereignty, Economics and Services be shared out equitably with Sudan African Parties and others forming such a government.
- 5) The present system of administration in the Southern Sudan shall continue. But, Council for the South and the REgional governments in the South should be dissolved in order to allow a new formation that shall reflect the new spirit of Unity in the South. The Southern Parties should solely be responsible for the formation of these governments.
- 6) The Government should cease arming groups of people because this policy has tended to create antagonism and armed conflict between tribes.
- 7) The state of emergency should be lifted.
- 8) Economic policies as contained in the resolutions of the National Economic Conference be adopted.
- 9) All Parties participating in the government shall prepare and sign a common charter.

Signed:

1. Rev. Philip Abbas Ghaboush: Sudan National Party, (SNP)
2. Sayed Eliaba James Surur: People's Progressive Party (PPP)
3. Sayed Samuel Aru Bol: Southern Sudan Political Association (SSPA)
4. Dr. Andrew W.R. Wieu: Sudan African National Union (SANU)
5. Dr. Walter Kunijwok: Sudan African Congress (SAC)
6. Sayed Paoline Zizi: Sudan African People's Congress (SAPCO)
7. Sayed Angelo Beda: Southern Sudan Political Association (SSPA)
8. Sayed Gabriel Yoal: Sudan People's Federal Party, (SPFP)
9. Sayed Joshua dei Wal: Sudan People's Federal Party, (SPFP)
10. Sayed Morris Lawiya Ezekiel: Sudan African People's Congress (SAPCO)

/06662

**SYRIA**

**Electricity Seminar Discusses New Energy Trends**  
*44040040 Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 23 Oct 87 p 6*

[Article by Hana'al-Taybi: "Seminar on Syrian Electricity"]

[Text] In view of the difficult circumstances our country is experiencing, every scientific and practical resource must be put to use to extricate ourselves from the electricity crisis by looking for new sources of energy and reducing loss and wastage of this expensive resource by rationalizing consumption. Given these facts, a group of engineers presented studies and analyses of the energy crisis at an electrical energy seminar held on 7 and 8

October 1987 under the auspices of the engineers' union. A great many researchers from the Universities of Damascus, Aleppo and Tishrin participated in this seminar, along with researchers from the Ministries of Electricity, Irrigation and Industry, the various branches of the Syrian Engineers' Union, and friendly socialist countries such as the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

In a meeting with Chairman of the Aleppo Branch of the Syrian Engineers' Union Eng Ahmad Hajj Musa and Preparatory Committee Chairman Dr Ilyas Tushan, we discussed the main trends which the seminar was held to discuss.

#### A Quick Glance At The Concept of Electricity

Electricity is the foundation for progress in this era in which Mankind has gone into space and looked to the most distant stars in order to study them. Electricity plays an important role in economic and social progress, which is affected if the demand for electricity outstrips the resources available to meet this demand, and also if growth rates falter.

We can classify Syria's sources of electricity according to type and cost per unit as follows: hydroelectric generators, fuel-powered steam generators, gas-powered generators relying on natural gas for fuel, and diesel generators relying on heavy oil [mazut].

Scientific studies prepared by the Electricity Ministry on the country's growing electricity needs from 1986 to 2000 show that from 1986 to 1990 these needs will increase 13 percent each year, and 10 percent a year from 1990 to 1995, and will then average out to a 7 percent yearly increase from 1995 to 2000.

#### The Trends Discussed At the Seminar

The seminar first examined the country's sources of energy, the problems facing these sources, and the possibility of finding new sources of energy in the future such as hydroelectric, thermal and nuclear sources. It studied each source from the economic angle, according to the fuel used and whether it is available in economic quantities.

Next it discussed the Syrian power grid and the possibility of connecting it with those of nearby Arab and foreign countries, which would lead to mutual benefit in exporting and importing energy according to the country's needs. This would be an additional source of energy.

Third came a study of alternative energy sources. In this context, the seminar studied academic advances regarding alternative energy sources and the possibility of actually implementing them. Included were the use of solar power for heating purposes and for pumping water, the use of bio-energy from organic residues obtained from urban garbage and animal dung, and the possibility

of using such substances to generate electricity. Syrian researchers have carried out some practical experiments on generating energy from such sources.

The fourth topic was rationalizing the use of electricity—i.e. attempting to reduce energy wastage in all areas of industry, agriculture and vital utilities. There are many examples of wastage; in industry, for example, electric motors are used in unappropriate circumstances. In other areas, electricity is used for heating, and some places are lighted around the clock unnecessarily.

The following topics were presented during the seminar.

#### 1. Sources of electricity:

- a. "Euphrates River Hydroelectric Plants, Their Present and Future," by Director General of the Euphrates Dam Organization Eng Shakir Bazu'ah;
- b. "Other Hydroelectric Plants, Their Present and Future," by Engs Salah Farah Damur and Mazin Shaykh Awghali of the Irrigation Ministry.

#### 2. Nuclear energy:

- a. "Atomic Energy and the Outlook For Its Use in Syria," by Dean of Aleppo University's College of Electrical and Electronic Engineering Dr Michel Hallaq; and
- b. "Questions of Safety in Nuclear Power Plants," by Chief Engineer of the Syrian Nuclear Power Plant Project Eng Boris Ribakoff.

#### 3. The Syrian power grid:

- a. "A Study of Tension Levels in Syrian Electric Transmission Grids, and How To Choose The Best Economic and Technical Solution," by Eng Munaf Rahmun of the Electricity Ministry's Directorate for Studies and Research;
- b. "Future Solutions to the Problem of Soilage of Insulators in the Syrian Grid," by Damascus University College of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Professor Nidal al-Rayyis; and
- c. "Finding Ideal Solutions For Operating Electric Systems by Computer," by Head of Tishrin University's Electrical Engineering Section Dr. George Isbir.

#### 4. Alternative energy sources:

- a. "An Economic Study of the Use of Electricity in Pumping Stations, Purification and Treatment of Drinking Water, and Sanitary Drainage," by Director of the Housing Ministry's Pumping Station Department Dr. Riyad al-Shahnah;

b. "Ideal Design Factors For Bio-Energy Processors To Be Used Under Syrian Conditions," by Damascus University College of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Professor Dr. 'Ali Hamzah; and

c. a discussion session on alternative energy sources presented by Dr. 'Ali Hamzah, Dr. 'Adil 'Awad, Chairman of the al-Asad Academy's Electronics Branch Dr. Akram Rayya, and Dr. Mustafa Dalilah of Tishrin University's College of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering.

#### 5. Rationalizing Energy Usage:

a. "Rationalizing Electricity Consumption In Syria and Minimizing Electrical Line Losses," by Dean of Aleppo University's College of Electrical and Electronic Engineering Dr. Michel Hallaq;

b. "Rationalizing Consumption of Electric Power, and the Best Ways of Conserving Electricity," by Dean of Tishrin University's College of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Dr 'Abdallah Sa'id; and

c. a discussion session on conserving energy and rationalizing consumption, led by Dr. Michel Hallaq, Dr 'Abdallah Sa'id, and Eng Khalid Gharib of Aleppo Branch 300 of the Military Housing Organization.

#### Studies Presented At the Seminar

We have selected some of these studies as representative of the four basic trends covered at the seminar.

##### 1. "The Present and Future Situation of Electricity in Syria:"

This study, presented by Assistant Minister of Electricity Eng Muwaffaq al-Nuri, examined the rising costs of producing electricity at the hydroelectric projects and how to arrive at the minimum critical qualitative cost at which a hydroelectric project can generate power. The study examined all the projects under construction and under study in order to determine the extent to which they might contribute to future plans. In this study of conditions in Syria's power plants, suggestions were presented for improving the returns from such plants and increasing the amount of energy they contribute to Syria's energy supply.

##### 2. "Nuclear Energy and the Outlook For Its Use:"

This study included a preface on the increasing worldwide use of nuclear energy and the reasons for that. The study also explained the various types of nuclear reactors, the parts thereof, and some of the special concepts involved. The study then explained why nuclear energy is not widely used in Third World countries. It outlined the basic requirements for nuclear power plants and the classes which must be conducted before any nuclear plant begins operations so as to eliminate the possibility

of confusion once the plant becomes operational. The study concentrated in particular on the static and dynamic stability of such plants and whether they can operate under the low demand and high capacity conditions which will exist at such plants.

##### 3. "Conserving Electricity and Rationalizing Its Use In Industry:"

Given our country's present circumstances, this matter is particularly important, especially with respect to industry. Therefore, our electric capability and capacity must be used wisely and economically, and wastage must be reduced as much as possible. In this context, the study discussed the following points:

- a. the basic sources of excessive consumption of electricity in industrial installations;
- b. the main reasons for excessive consumption of electricity in industrial installations;
- c. factors which might influence economizing in electricity use;
- d. limiting the drawing down of capacity and regulating the consumption of electricity in industry;
- e. drawing up norms for electricity consumption; and
- f. regulating industrial loads.

##### 4. "Pumping Water Using Solar Light Cells:"

The researcher introduced his study with a general introduction to the more important types of alternative and renewable energy sources, such as the sun, the wind, the tides, and temperature differentials in sea water, and the possibilities of their use on a world-wide scale. Then he discussed solar energy and the areas in which it might be used, and dealt particularly with photovoltaic cells for household uses, lighting small villages far from the general grid, long-distance communications, protecting and monitoring oil pipelines, and pumping water. He also spoke of model applications in pumping stations (for agriculture, bringing water to villages, and for household uses), analyzed a system for pumping water using solar energy (the light cell system), discussed the technology for combining light cells, pump motors and other equipment into a comprehensive system, and discussed resistance, storage cells, transformers, keys, protective equipment, and storing and distributing water. He presented a sample workday at a solar pumping station, and a model for keeping track of demands for hydroelectric and solar energy, which included the scope of the system, specifications, and a cost-accounting for the solar pumps.

##### 5. "Tension Levels In the Country's Electric Transmission Grids, and Choosing the Best Technical and Most Economic Solution:"

This study covered the Syrian grid, which at present operates at 400/230/66/20 kilovolts, and the possibility of its future development in light of the growing demand for energy. The study then compared this grid to grids using other tension levels, such as 400/110/10 kilovolts, under the same operating conditions as the first grid. Finally, the study presented the justifications for proposing such a change, and concluded by examining a large group of possibilities for both systems. Tables and explanatory graphs were presented to compare both systems, and the researcher then discussed his study's conclusions and recommendations.

**6. "The Use Of Bio-Energy In al-Ladhiqiyah Province; a Model For Moving From Theoretical Study To Actual Field Application:"**

This study divided the topic into two parts. The first part dealt with a model field study for moving from theory to practice in utilizing organic energy in al-Ladhiqiyah Province, on the basis of a model rural residential agricultural village. The second part proposed an analytical procedural model for moving from the above-mentioned field research to actual field application. In his proposal, the researcher discussed the strategy of the research project, the organizational framework for the project, input from the design, production and data publication stages, and an analytical program for applying and developing the technologies involved in renewable or alternative energies.

**7. "Design Considerations For the Use of Bio-Energy In Syria:"**

This study covered the following points: the concept of bio-energy, an estimate of the amount of bio-energy in Syria, academic design considerations for designing a processor, and practical design considerations for designing such a processor given the country's circumstances. The researcher then reviewed the results of the operational experiments conducted at model processors and at actual large-scale processors in some Syrian provinces, and finished his presentation with his conclusions.

**8. "Finding the Best Solutions For Operating Electricity Systems By Computer:"**

This study included an advanced program for analyzing all the grids and for finding ideal solutions by substituting a repeat capacity wherever needed, and then presented a computer program for showing the expenses and profits which would result from operating any given solution. This program is now in place at Tishrin University and could be put into use, since experiments have been conducted on it. It uses Fortran and Basic, and small IBM-type computers can be used to solve a 70-node grid. In larger-capacity computers, we could increase the number to 1,000 nodes, which would enable us to enter the entire Syrian grid with all its tensions, from the source to the end consumer, and thus monitor

the grid and come up with the appropriate solution in case of higher or lower loads or power failures. We would also be able to ascertain, from the intersections of the grid, whether the right choice had been made. Finally, the lecturer presented a complete explanation of the program referred to above.

**General Recommendations**

At the closing session, there was a general discussion of the topics and studies presented at the seminar, and the following resolutions were passed.

1. There should be yearly scientific seminars on electricity engineering. Cooperation should be supported and encouraged, among colleges of engineering, technical ministries, and industrial public sector companies in general, and between the various sectors active in the field of electricity and the Electricity Ministry in particular. There should be training courses for engineers and for students in their final years at engineering colleges, so that they can acquire expertise and improve their scientific and technical levels.
2. In the area of energy sources, construction of the Tishrin Yusuf Basha Dam should begin immediately, and essential studies on using water resources to generate as much electricity as possible should be conducted.
3. The plans for linking the Syrian electrical grid with grids in neighboring countries should be expedited, so as to achieve total, effective integration with those grids.
4. As for seeking alternative energy sources, the use of solar power to heat water should be encouraged, as well as the use of wind power to pump water from wells and generate electricity.
5. In rationalizing electricity consumption, the following measures should be taken:
  - a. loss of electricity from the electric grids should be minimized, large pumping stations should not be operated, daylight savings should be continued during the spring and summer, and the media should be called upon to educate the citizens about rationalizing electricity consumption;
  - b. the supply of electricity to industrial installations should be made more reliable, an end should be put to unforeseen power failures, and attempts should be made to remedy the situation;
  - c. The electric grids at industrial projects and general installations should be examined and modified to make them conform with the country's general grid;

d. in drawing up the technical specifications for industrial installations and equipment, there should be coordination among the ministries, the public sector organizations, and the country's universities and scientific research centers;

e. the reserve generators at public sector companies and organizations should be inspected to make sure that they are operational; and

f. awareness campaigns should be launched with the participation of all popular organizations and state sectors in order to inform the people of the major scientific methods involved in optimum usage of electricity, and these methods should be incorporated into school and university curricula.

#### In Closing

Inasmuch as the scientific committee on electricity believes that the above-mentioned recommendations should be implemented, it has decided that it shall continue to function for a full year in order to follow up the implementation of these recommendations and do everything it can to eliminate the energy crisis.

08559

### UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

#### Lubricant Blending Plant Opened

44000017a Dubayy *KHALEEJ TIMES* in English  
19 Nov 87 p 15

[Text] The green and yellow BP shield became part of the domestic industrial scene yesterday when Shaikh Ahmed bin Saeed Al Maktoum, Chairman of Dubai Civil Aviation, formally inaugurated the Middle East Lubricants Company, BP's lube blending plant at Jebel Ali Free Zone.

The Dh37 million plant, with an annual throughput capacity of 30,000 tonnes per shift, was commissioned in April and represents the biggest investment by Britain in this country.

Reflecting its importance for Jebel Ali and local industry was the presence of a large number of local businessmen, representatives of the UAE oil sector, and London-based officials of BP, which is providing plant management for the local company.

Shaikh Ahmed arrived at the Jafz, where the plant is located, in a helicopter and was received, among others, by James Ross, chief executive and managing director of BP Oil International Ltd and chairman of BP Oil Ltd., and John R. Grundon, regional coordinator for Near East, Middle East and Indian subcontinent for British Petroleum plc.

#### Fuel for Emirates

He cut a ribbon at the plant's entrance, unveiled a plaque to mark the opening, and later toured the highly-automated plant, capable of manufacturing 75 different types of lubricants.

For those at the Middle East Lubricants Co., Shaikh Ahmed was not merely a member of Dubai's ruling family or chief guest performing the opening, but also a valued customer.

The new plant supplies fuel to Dubai's nascent airline, Emirates, of which Shaikh Ahmed is chairman. It also supplies diesel and fuel oil to bulk customers, and has formed a joint venture company for supplying bitumen for road construction.

Representatives of the oil industry, who toured the plant yesterday, particularly praised its new laboratory which they said matched BP's reputation as the sixth largest oil company outside the communist world and the local company's claim to be one of the best plants of its kind in this region.

Middle East Lubricants is majority owned by local interests and has been given tariff exemption for export within the AGCC. It will not only help in import substitution but also contribute substantially to the UAE's export potential.

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#### Move To Cut Import Costs Noted

44000018a Dubayy *KHALEEJ TIMES* in Arabic  
20 Nov 87 p 13

[Article by K.P. Nayar: "Move to Cut Import Costs"]

[Text] After the record decline of the dollar in the postwar period, importers in the UAE have begun their search for cheaper imports.

The fixed parity between the dirham and the dollar has prevented the benefits of a cheaper US currency from reaching them. At the same time, they are dismayed that appreciation of the pound sterling, the Japanese yen and the Deutschemark are reflected in their transactions, pushing up prices to levels unacceptable in the local market.

Importers have been worried about this anomaly for some time, but the publication of half yearly trade figures by major importing emirates in the UAE has persuaded large trading establishments to take a fresh look at their sources of import.

During the first half of this year, Abu Dhabi imported 22.6 million kg of West German goods at a cost of Dh433.55 million. West Germany is now Abu Dhabi's biggest source of imports and during the corresponding

period last year importers in the emirate had to pay only Dh351.22 million for a marginally lower volume of 21.7 million kg of German goods.

For Japan, the second biggest source of imports, the figures are more startling. Japanese imports into Abu Dhabi for the first half of last year amounted to 50.25 million kg and cost Dh377.94 million.

But during the same period this year, importers had to pay almost the same price—Dh374.65 million—for a substantially lower volume of 38.78 million kg.

Dubai's half yearly trade figures similarly reveal that the increase in import prices has not been in proportion to the increase in the volume of goods.

Dubai's imports from January to June this year were marginally higher at 2,594 million kg compared to 2,572 million kg during the corresponding period last year. But importers here had to pay over Dh708 million more for their goods.

Martin Bangemann, West Germany's economy minister who was in UAE recently, pointed out that fluctuations in exchange rates had "dramatically" changed the trade situation in the last three years. "The Deutschemark has gained by almost 100 per cent. In 1984, the mark was 3.47 against the dollar. Now it is 1.81."

Abdul Malik Al Hamar, the Central Bank governor, said last week that the dirham depreciated against the sterling by nine per cent during the first half of this year. Its depreciation was only three per cent during the same period last year.

Similar depreciations have been recorded against currencies of major sources of import this year, ranging from 6.4 per cent against the Deutschemark to nine per cent against the Japanese yen.

Currencies like the mark and the yen have been appreciating for some years now and the cumulative effect has been to price a large cross section of popular brand names out of this market.

Businessmen in the Gulf operate in a situation where, more often than not, they are unable to pass on price rises to the buyers. The Gulf is more price conscious than most markets in the world, and now, coupled with recession and uncertainties of expatriate tenure, consumers are unwilling to spend beyond a point except on necessities.

Underlying the search for cheaper imports, therefore, is the fear among traders that price increases, pushed beyond a certain level will result in a serious slump in business.

Two trade exhibitions from the Far East which opened in Dubai last fortnight—the earliest in the current business season—attracted unprecedented interest among local buyers, whose queries, trade sources said, related primarily to prices.

Buyers here are hopeful that despite currency fluctuations, manufacturers in the Far East will be willing to sell at prices that are sustainable locally provided the volume of orders is substantial.

This year, Dubai has been importing from 117 different countries. Traders are confident that an organised search for cheaper sources will enable them to move away from countries whose currencies have appreciated to such an extent that not only local buyers but also Dubai's major re-export destinations are unwilling to place large orders.

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#### Rise in Prices of Raw Materials

44000018b Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in Arabic  
17 Nov 87 p 15

[Article by K.P. Nayar: "Local Producers in Quandary as Raw Material Costs Soar"]

[Text] Manufacturers in the UAE are facing a dilemma. Volatile international currencies have caused a steep escalation in the cost of inputs, but industries are unable to pass on the increases to customers for fear of losing their markets.

Attempts to find cheaper raw materials have only been partially successful, and even with cheaper inputs, manufacturing units say their costs have gone up by 40 to 50 per cent this year.

Fears are growing that a market for indigenous products, assiduously developed by manufacturers here in the last five years since the UAE's nascent industries started exports, may be lost to cheaper goods available from the Far East and Latin America.

#### Bad Timing

The timing of the new crisis has been particularly unfortunate for local industry. Its products registered a 12 per cent increase in exports during the first half of this year, according to figures for Dubai's trade, released by the emirate government's Statistics Office.

The increase, at a time of a slump in global trade, had led manufacturers here to expect a record in exports this year. Since local units started exports this decade, the highest export figure was Dh1 billion for 1984.

Latest statistics showed substantial inroads by industrial goods, food items, animal and vegetable fats and crude materials to the exclusion of oil and gas.

The AGCC states and the US are among the major markets for local products, and therefore, the depreciation of the dollar has brought little advantage for units exporting to these countries.

The parity between the dirham and the dollar has robbed indigenous industry of the advantages of a cheaper dollar. A similar parity in other AGCC currencies—except the Kuwaiti dinar—has made exports to these states no more attractive despite the depreciation of the dollar.

At the same time, local manufacturers are having to pay higher raw material prices for their imports from Europe and Japan. Enquiries with a cross section of UAE industry yesterday revealed that the bulk of raw materials for this country's manufacturing sector is imported from West Germany, where the deutsche mark has been appreciating throughout the current international financial crisis.

#### Up by 40pc

The chief executive of one of Dubai's most successful industrial enterprises said yesterday that he was considering an increase in prices but spread over a year, perhaps longer, so that his goods are not priced out of the market.

"Our raw material costs have gone up by 40 per cent this year," he said. This company, which exports substantial quantities of its production to AGCC states, is in any case unable to buy its requirements—steel for instance—from the US because America is deficit in steel.

But, like other manufactures, even if imports from the US were possible, it would bring few benefits because of the parity between the dirham and the dollar.

#### Main Input

Oil-related industries in the UAE are, however, in a slightly better situation. Oil products, their main input, have not become any more expensive as a result of currency fluctuations. Because of the dirham's link to the dollar and since oil is priced in dollars, a substantial portion of raw material prices have remained steady for these industries.

A senior executive of an oil-related industrial unit, which was commissioned this year, said yesterday that similar plants in Europe had benefited from a falling dollar. To that extent, local products would have to compete against cheaper European items in the UAE and other AGCC markets.

Simultaneously, downstream petrochemical units, which use large quantities of chemical additives, are having to pay more for such materials, imported mostly from West Germany against the rising deutsche mark.

The new problems facing indigenous industry, sources said, would lead to renewed calls for protectionism from manufacturers within the AGCC region.

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#### Silo Facilities Constructed

44000017b *Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES* in English  
9 Nov 87 p 13

[Article by Raman Kapoor: "Dubai Silos Have Towering Edge"]

[Text] Dubai will soon be on the world foodgrains trading map when its massive grain storage and transhipment facility at Jebel Ali is commissioned early next year.

The Dh50 million facility, with super-fast loading and unloading machines which are now in place, will enable the emirate to feed the Gulf markets.

The facility is being commissioned in phases. The dozen towering silos—each 55 metres tall—have risen from the ground in just over a year. The huge loading and unloading machines, connected to a conveyor system, are being readied for trial runs later this month. Situated along berth three and four of the port, with a 500-metre quay frontage, the project is spread over a 28-hectare area and will be able to handle two vessels simultaneously. Large grain vessels of between 60,000 and 140,000dwt will be able to berth for unloading; simultaneous loading will also be possible into the same or another vessel.

The silos have a capacity of 120,000 tonnes (each 10,000 tonnes), but an annual turnaround of about four million tonnes of various grains may be possible, says Essa Al Ghurair, general manager of Gulf Import and Export Co (Giec), a subsidiary of Al Ghurair group. In the first year (1988), a turnaround of 750,000 tonnes of grains may be possible.

The project has the largest storage capacity in the UAE and the Gulf; it is also among the largest since the Jebel Ali Free Zone (Jafz) was constituted over two years ago. Also, its handling rate will be the fastest in the region.

Once the project gets underway, Dubai might turn into the busiest foodgrains transhipment centre between Singapore and Rotterdam, says Mr Ghurair.

The facility will also serve as a buffer for region's food security.

The entire project's rationale rests on the fact that no other port in the Gulf region can handle heavy grain ships; only vessels of a maximum of 30,000 to 35,000dwt can be handled. Also, there is a lack of high-speed, mobile evaucators, which pushes up the demurrage costs to the chartered vessels.

The Jebel Ali project can handle an evacuation or loading of up to 200 tonnes an hour to empty the big ships of 60,000 tonnes in just three days, against a similar handling by conventional means in 30 to 40 days. At Al Ghurair's National Flour Mills in Dubai, about 4,000 tonnes of grain are handled in a day; this can now be done in just two hours at the Giec project.

Grain is usually brought in at various Gulf ports in 5,000 to 25,000dwt vessels.

Considering the storage and handling statistics in the various UAE and Gulf ports, one sees the unique cost advantages that the Jebel Ali project enjoys in meeting the transhipment needs of the region.

#### Deep Draught

Storage capacities are also much shorter than Jebel Ali's Giec: about 20,000 tonnes in Qatar, 20,000 tonnes in Bahrain, 80,000 to 100,000 in Dammam, 150,000 in Kuwait, 60,000 in Muscat and 20,000 tonnes in Salala. The hourly rate of handling is also much less: about 250 tonnes in Oman, 150 in Qatar, 150 in Bahrain, 600 in Saudi Arabia, and 1,200 tonnes in Kuwait. Although Kuwait has two machines, its port cannot take ships of over 25,000dwt, thereby losing advantage to Jebel Ali.

Because of the Jebel Ali port's deep draught it has an edge over other regional ports, including those further afield in Pakistan and India. Deepening the draught in these countries will mean huge investments, not being contemplated at present anywhere.

Mr Ghurair said if India needs grains, "we can bring in big vessels of 60,000 to 80,000dwt, lighten them at Jebel Ali and then despatch them to Bombay."

The other advantages that the Jebel Ali project offers producers, importers and retailers in the region include: elimination of multiple grain shipments, lower freight costs, lower demurrage on chartered vessels, bulk storage facilities at low rates and thereby absence of any supply disruptions, short onward reshipments and rapid deliveries to Gulf importers, lower inventories for end-users, increased use of national shipping on short voyages out of Jebel Ali and exemption of taxes for commodities in transit.

The potential for exports from Jebel Ali to the Arabian peninsula and its periphery is phenomenal, as the region annually imports well over 12 million tonnes of food-grain.

With many of the regional countries, including Pakistan and India, still depending on the vagaries of nature for their agricultural produce, the availability of good stocks at the Giec facility assumes importance.

Most of the imports to the region are coming from Australia, Southeast Asia, USA, Canada, Argentina and the European Community.

Iran may be a much bigger market in 1988 due to its poor harvest. Dubai traders have been moving good quantities to Iran even in the past, but the outlook is specially bright for next year when the Giec facility commences operations. Iran may import 6.3 million tonnes of grain in 1988; its wheat imports this year is placed at 3.7 million tonnes. Teheran has also been buying about 700,000 tonnes of rice and 500,000 tonnes of barley.

Although Saudi Arabia is self-sufficient in wheat, it still imports large quantities of barley and rice; it imported 6.5 million tonnes of barley and 500,000 tonnes of rice in 1986.

#### Bulk Buying

Iraq is another potential customer; it has to pay at least \$25 a tonne additional on moving grain from the port of Aqaba to distant parts of the country. The reexports from Jebel Ali, therefore, would be significantly cheaper.

Barley imports into the Gulf region in 1986 amounted to over seven million tonnes, and wheat imports nearly five million tonnes.

Bahrain imported 33,000 tonnes of wheat, Iran 1.88 million tonnes of wheat, 700,000 tonnes of rice and 500,000 tonnes of barley; Iraq 1.71 million tonnes of wheat, 550,000 tonnes of rice, 200,000 tonnes of flour and 100,000 tonnes of barley; Kuwait 182,000 tonnes of wheat and 90,000 tonnes of rice; Oman 83,000 tonnes of wheat; Qatar 26,000 tonnes of wheat; UAE 221,000 tonnes of wheat, 135,000 tonnes of rice and 15,900 tonnes of flour; North Yemen 500,000 tonnes of wheat and 200,000 tonnes of flour; and South Yemen 190,000 tonnes of wheat and 47,800 tonnes of flour.

Mr Ghurair said the Jebel Ali plant would stock wheat, barley, corn (maize), sorghum, oats and any other grains used in the region. Talks are being held with various grain exporting countries on bulk purchases. The first round of talks was held recently with the Grains Board of Turkey, a major exporter of lentils and pulses.

If the regional demand for the Giec facility's stocked commodities proves significant, the project could be expanded by adding in more silos. The addition of third loading/unloading machine would increase the capacity three-fold. The facility, planned and designed by MacDonald Wagner and Priddle, specialist Australian consultants in grain handling projects, has been funded by the Al Ghurair group as also the suppliers' finance (about 30 per cent).

At any given time, the capital for stocks may be in the region of \$12 to 15 million. "But for Jebel Ali port, this project would not have come into being, which is a

tribute to the vision of His Highness Shaikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum, Vice President and Prime Minister of the UAE and Ruler of Dubai."

A bagging station is also being built, which bags the grains in preparation for despatch by road or ship. The station, adjacent to the silos, has four bagging lines that will operate at 60 tonnes per hour capacity. Local users wishing to off-load bulk capacities, are to be served by two vehicle loading spouts with a capacity of 150 tonnes an hour each.

Annexed to the grain facility is a feed plant with a production capacity of 15tph expandable to 30tph; it will produce varied husbandry feed items.

A new marketing operation will soon complement the Giec project. Plans are under way to construct large warehouses in the free zone for the storage of bagged imports of a complete range of food commodities including rice, wheat, sugar, coffee and pulses.

In the second stage of its operations, the grain will be bagged and marketed throughout the Middle East. Commodities will be procured from major producers, and when marketed, will match the highest standards of quality. The shed for this facility may be in place in less than a year and the consultant's report in this regard is being examined.

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## REGIONAL

**Siachen Importance to India, Pakistan Noted**  
46000024 Cochin *THE WEEK* in English 14 Nov 87  
pp 14-17

[Article: "Bloody Battle on the Glacier"]

[Text] Very few in India and Pakistan had heard of the Siachen glacier until 1984. Clashes there started on April 3 that year when Pakistani forces spanned across a wide stretch extending from Kargil to Siachen adjoining Nubra valley in the Ladakh region. This was preceded by an exchange of small arms fire between Indian and Pakistani forces. The Indian troops were just defending a territory which they viewed as Indian.

The first major clash in the region occurred at Bilafond La, followed by a bloody battle in June 1984. Since then intermittent firing has been going on.

With that Siachen suddenly shot into news. Pakistani leaders, who seem to be confused about their claims, began making contradictory statements. Foreign Affairs Minister Yakub Khan told the national assembly on June 8, 1985 that Siachen did not belong to India and that it formed part of Pakistan's northern areas. In September, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq underplayed the importance of Siachen saying not a blade of grass grew there. On September 22, Prime Minister Junejo said in Muzafarabad that Siachen had nothing to do with the Shimla agreement. (This was in reply to a demand to scrap the Shimla pact to protest Indian 'takeover' of Siachen.) On September 24 Gen. Zia-ul-Haq said in Quetta that Siachen was not a part of Pakistan. It was a no-man's land which, according to him, India had taken over. On November 7 Minister of State for External Affairs Zain Noorani warned India that Pakistan would use other methods to solve the problem. And following the recent clashes, Junejo said on June 6, 1987 in Hunza that the ownership of Siachen was not decided yet.

On the other hand, India's claims have been consistent. It always said that Siachen became part of India when the rest of the state of Jammu and Kashmir became part of India, that is, in 1947. Pakistan's claim to Siachen is a result of its illegal occupation of a part of Kashmir soon after partition. But Pakistan realised the importance of Siachen only after opening the Karakoram highway which links Sinkiang in China with Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, and the Khunjerab pass. The reports of Pakistani troops being trained by the Chinese in guerrilla tactics alarmed India. India thinks that Pak control of Siachen will endanger the security of Ladakh, and thereby the whole of Jammu and Kashmir.

That means both countries view the glacier region as important to the security of a vital region in their territory—Ladakh and Jammu and Kashmir for India and Karakoram highway and occupied Kashmir for Pakistan. Naturally, such a region should be possessed of a tricky geography.

Unfortunately, neither of the countries has published a map showing the location of the glacier, or of the spot where the action is taking place. According to the none-too-correct sketch maps prepared by mountaineering groups, Siachen, the second largest glacier in Asia, is about 50 miles long and two to four miles wide covering an area of 100 to 200 square miles. The glacier runs roughly in a northwestern direction, starting from longitude 77.1 degrees east, latitude 35.2 degrees north to longitude 76.8 degrees east, latitude 35.6 degrees north.

The aerial distance between the glacier's northwestern extremity and the Himalayan peak K2 is about 35 miles; the nearest point on the Karakoram highway is about 140 miles. At its northern edge, the glacier is approximately six miles from the Kashmir territory ceded by Pakistan to China under the 1963 agreement. The Shyok valley is a natural extension of the Siachen region. The Siachen ridge dominates the Shyok and Nubra valleys which lead to Leh and Ladakh in the south.

The region was part of the Kashmir and hence India's. At the time of the Karachi agreement of 1949 India and Pakistan drew the cease-fire line (CFL) on the maps only up to the grid point NJ 9842 (beyond Kargil) near Thang, and said that the line runs northwards along the glacier thereafter. There was no physical demarcation because of inaccessibility of the region. The Shimla agreement of 1972, while converting the CFL into the line of actual control, said the line ran beyond Thang along the glacier. The Pakistanis, however, apparently drew a line northeast from Thang to Karakoram pass cutting across Nubra valley and treated Siachen glacier as their territory.

Pakistan gave permission to various mountaineering expeditions to K2 and some other peaks in the western Karakoram from the fifties to the mid-seventies. This gave the impression to the rest of the world that this whole region was firmly under Pakistan's control.

What threat can Pakistan pose to India in this region? Any Pakistani occupation of the glacier, according to a commentator, would mean "Pakistani domination of the Nubra valley and the routes going to Leh". The Indian position in the Siachen area as well as the vicinity of the pass, including Daulat Beg Oldi, is a wedge between Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and the 4,500 square kilometres of Indian territory ceded by Pakistan to China and the Chinese-occupied Aksai Chin area.

After the opening of the Karakoram highway in June 1978, Pakistan wanted to ensure its security by keeping Siachen. India insists that the Pakistani fears are imaginary and points out that the highway runs well to the north of the Karakoram range. China has denied that there was any collusion between that country and Pakistan in the Siachen area.

The Sino-Pak agreement of 1963, under which Shaksgam valley was ceded to the former, has a clause indicating that it is valid only till a final solution is reached in the demarcation of the area. The de facto occupation of Siachen by Pakistan would weaken India's position in any future negotiation on the border issue with China.

India understood the mischievous intentions of Islamabad quite early, and took a number of precautionary steps. The first was to conduct aerial surveys of the region at regular intervals. This was followed by sending mountaineering expeditions including the one led by Col. Kumar of the high altitude warfare unit in Gulmarg and Brig. Thadani which reached up to the Apsaras. By early 1984 India was able to establish its military presence on the relevant heights in the region.

Then came the clash of April 1984. By May Pakistan had raised a battalion of commandos of special Service Groups for infiltration and attacks in Ladakh.

In June 1985 Lt-Gen. M.L. Chibber, general officer commanding-in-chief of the northern command, disclosed in Srinagar that Pakistan had suffered during the previous one year more than 1,000 casualties; India had lost six men in the area.

The period from late 1985 to the end of 1986 was a relatively quiet phase on the glacier. Two official level talks took place during this period, besides an informal meeting between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Zia-ul-Haq in Washington, and both agreed to solve the problem through discussion. The first meeting was between the defence secretaries of both countries in January 1986. The second was held in New Delhi on June 11, 1986.

However, as the snow started melting in May-June 1987, the Indian side noticed unusual activity around Bialafond La. First Junejo made an aerial survey of the northern areas. Three weeks later there were conflicting reports of serious clashes. According to Pakistani accounts, India occupied the post at the Sonam, a peak in the glacier. The Indians said that the Sonam was always under their control.

On September 23, 1987 Pakistan launched a surprise attack on Indian positions in the area. One report says that Indian posts were located on the peaks, and on the night of September 22, Indian jawans noticed Pakistani soldiers fixing ropes on the steep hill on which they were located. A fierce battle raged for the next 36 hours at an

altitude of more than 19,000 ft. The Pakistanis suffered heavy casualties—about 170 dead and scores wounded. Indian casualties numbered around 25.

Perhaps as times passes we may get more details of this historic battle fought at Bilafond La. But one thing became clear after this second round in Siachen: Pakistan is desperate to regain its lost prestige in its wars with India, and this may even lead to a war on the snow-clad mountains.

—A Special Correspondent

/9738

## BANGLADESH

**Four Parties Join To Form New Political Front**  
*46001097 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Oct 87 p 8*

[Text] A new political party styled as "Jukta Front" was floated on Saturday following the merger of four political parties with the aim of establishing a society based on the ideals of Sher-e Bangla A.K. Fazlul Huq, Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy and Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani, reports BSS.

Addressing a press conference at the National Press Club in Dhaka, Chairman of the Presidium of the newly-floated party Mr Abu Naser Khan Bhasani said the party stood on consolidating the "country's independence and sovereignty, democracy, economic freedom and upholding of Islamic ideals with freedom to all other religions.

In a prepared statement, Mr Bhasani, son of late Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani, said four parties—namely, the Janadul, Bangladesh Nagarik Shanghati, NAP (Bhasani) and Jatiya Palli Party—joined together to carry forward progressive politics for establishing "true democracy" in the country.

Wing. Comdr. (retd) Syed Muhammad Wahidur Rahim, Chairman of the now-defunct Jatiya Palli Party and Front leader read out the Jukta Front's 21-point programme. This included dividing the country into four divisions, wiping out the curse of illiteracy, controlling the flood on a permanent basis and wiping out corruption from all spheres of national life.

/9738

**More Details on Arrest of Opposition Leaders**  
*46001095 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 26 Oct 87 pp 1, 8*

[Text] More political leaders and workers were arrested on Tuesday all over the country. According to official source none was arrested in Dhaka city on Tuesday. In Chittagong BNP standing committee member Dr A.F.M. Yusuf was arrested in a pre-dawn swoop.

So far five Opposition Members of Parliament were arrested. They are Mr Tofael Ahmed, Mr Rashed Mosharraf, Mr A.S.M. Feroz and Ishaq of Awami League and Mr Prasun Kanti Roy (Barun Roy) of CPB.

Half-day hartal was observed in Barisal, Bhola, Daulatkhhan, Jhenaigati in Sherpur and Rajbari in protest against the arrest of political leaders all over the country and killing of three persons on Monday in police firing. Meeting, processions and demonstrations were held in different parts of the country in protest against the large scale arrest and killing of three persons.

The mainstream opposition called for Gayebana Janaza today (Wednesday) all over the country. In Dhaka city the Gayebana Janaza will be held at 4 p.m. at Baitul Mukarram. Besides, demonstrations will be held to protest the killing and arrest.

Chittagong Office adds: Dr A.F.M. Yusuf, President of the BNP, Chittagong North district was arrested by the police from his residence on Monday night. He was put under one month's detention. This brings the total number of arrests in Chittagong city to 20. All the arrested persons have been put under one month's detention.

The police also arrested seven leaders of different students' organisations at Cox's Bazaar. Meanwhile, several processions were brought out at Chittagong, Cox's Bazaar and Rangamati in protest against the arrests of Opposition leaders and workers. Street corner meetings were also organised at different places of the districts.

The Chittagong-Dhaka road which was disrupted at Pahartali by placing blockade in protest against the arrests for over twelve hours has been cleared off obstacles at midnight on Monday.

Our Patuakhali Correspondent adds: Mr Abdul Baten, a former Minister and a prominent leader of the BNP was arrested by the police on Monday last. The police also arrested eighteen other persons from different parts of the district. They include Messrs Firoz Ahmed ex-MP, Mr Barek Talukdar, ex-MP and Majibar Rahman, President, Patuakhali District Awami League.

Ayenuddin

Leader of the Muslim League parliamentary group Mr Ayenuddin has strongly criticised the Government for its action to throttle the voices of the Opposition by resorting to mass arrests of the leaders and workers of the Opposition parties in the country. In a statement issued to the Press, Mr Ayenuddin urged the Government to desist from such repressive measures against its opponents and demanded restoration of democracy in the country by resigning.

Rajshahi

BSS adds from Rajshahi: Four more persons have been arrested in Rajshahi according to police.

Meanwhile, a procession brought out by Chhatra Moitri and BNP to protest against yesterday's arrest, clashed with police after processionists pelted stones at the members of Law enforcing agencies. Police used tear gas and lathicharged unruly crowd.

Several people including 3 policemen were injured in the incident. Two injured students admitted to Fajshahi medical hospital left their beds, hospital sources said.

The situation in the town has become normal later in the day.

/9738

#### Ministry Predicts Shortfall in Jute Production

46001091 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
22 Oct 87 pp 1, 8

[Article by Syed Badiuzzaman]

[Text] The export target of raw jute fixed at twenty three lakh bales for the current financial year (1987-88) may not be achieved due to a fall in production caused by the devastating floods.

The Jute Ministry made a projection of raw jute production at forty five lakh bales this year but as a result of large scale damage caused to this number one cash crop of the country by the floods, the production will fall short of the target by at least ten lakh bales.

It may be mentioned that the world demand for raw jute is about twenty seven lakh bales of which Bangladesh alone supplies over twenty lakh bales. Jute production in neighbouring India has suffered a similar setback this year due to the floods.

Export Promotion Bureau sources told THE NEW NATION on Monday that due to the shortfall in production and consequently in supply in international market, jute price was registering a steady rise which has both good and bad effects. The sources explained it was good if the price settled at a stable position after a certain rise but if it continues to shoot up, the country would lose potential markets, with the consumers switching over to substitutes.

Narrating a bitter experience, the EPB sources, said that there was an abnormal price hike of jute in international market in 1984 following a shortfall in production and consequently in supply due to floods. That year, Bangladesh could export only fourteen lakh bales of jute and subsequently lost many markets which are yet to be regained.

On the other hand, the 1984 situation forced the price of jute to register an abnormal fall the following year and the price has not yet come to a stable position, the sources said. "We want the price to go up to a certain level but it should be within a reasonable limit from the trade point of view," they said apprehending that their projection might be exceeded if the current trend of price rise continued.

Bangladesh is also likely to lose some of her potential markets particularly in the Middle Eastern countries following a temporary ban on export of sweet water fish and vegetable. The vacuum which will be created there is most likely to be filled by other countries and later it may be difficult for the local traders to penetrate into such markets afresh in view of the highly competitive situation in the trade, the sources pointed out.

It has been learnt that the decision to impose the temporary ban up to December next on export of white (sweet water) fish and vegetable from Bangladesh was taken at the highest level in order to stabilize the internal market. The Export Promotion Bureau was not consulted when the government took the decision. An EPB source said that had their opinion been sought in this regard they would have possibly suggested a "go slow" in export of the two items instead of imposing a complete ban.

Meanwhile, the export performance during the first two months of the current financial year presented a better outlook fetching an amount of Taka 560.53 crore in foreign exchange as against Taka 437.7 crore during the corresponding period in the preceding year. Out of the total export earnings in the two months, manufactured commodities accounted for Taka 423.23 crore while primary products bagged Taka 137.30 crore.

So far, ready-made garments are at the top of the export earnings list fetching Taka 206.17 crore representing 36.78 percent of the total and is followed by jute goods (all sorts) accounting for Taka 147.77 crore, 28.41 percent. The third position, so far the export earning was concerned, was captured by frozen food earning an amount of Taka 69.47 crore representing 12.39 percent and the fourth, by raw jute earning Taka 38.08 crore, 6.79 percent, among both the manufactured and primary goods.

It may be mentioned that the export target for 1987-88 has been set at Taka 3440 crore, that is, 1100 million dollars which is higher by Taka 214.34 crore, that is 6.65 percent over the performance of 1986-87. In terms of dollar, the current year's target is higher by 38.58 million representing 3.64 percent. In the target for 1987-88, contribution of jute sector will be Taka 1425 crore (41 percent) and that of non-jute sector will be Taka 2015 crore (59 percent). Primary commodities will contribute

Taka 994 crore while manufactured products are projected to contribute Taka 2445 crore. The contribution of traditional and non-traditional sectors will be Taka 1545 crore (45 percent) and Taka 1895 crore (55 percent) respectively.

/9738

### Paper Reports Interview With Foreign Minister

#### SAARC, Other Matters

46001094 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
26 Oct 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury has emphatically ruled out the possibility of Afghanistan's admission to seven-member South Asian association of regional cooperation (SAARC).

Belief is growing in the capital that Kabul would seek SAARC membership.

Terming this as a wild speculation, the foreign Minister, in an exclusive interview with THE NEW NATION yesterday said "there is no provision for additional membership unless of course the SAARC charter is changed."

He went on to add there is no possibility of altering the charter of SAARC in the foreseeable future.

Asked if the current wave of violence in Jaffna would be discussed in the SAARC summit in Kathmandu beginning from November 2, the Foreign Minister said the issue was outside the scope of the forum.

Mr Chowdhury said the summit will mainly deal with the proposal for South Asia food security reserve, the idea of which was mooted during the second SAARC summit held in the Indian city of Bangalore in November last. South Asia food security reserve will have a cushion of twenty lakh tons of foodgrains, the bulk of which will be provided by India.

The South Asia food security reserve will take shape at the end of the summit in Kathmandu. There will also be an agreement on curbing the acts of terrorism. The Foreign Minister said there was no dispute among the member countries on the interpretation of "terrorism."

The Foreign Minister leaves for Nepal on October 30 for the council of ministers meeting that will precede the summit. The foreign ministers will finalise the agreements for formal signing by the summiteers.

Mr Chowdhury said SAARC charter forbids raising of bilateral issues but there would be ample scope for the leaders to discuss any problem bedeviling bilateral relations.

The Foreign Minister dismissed as kite flying the spate of speculations in the national media about the diplomatic postings. He particularly mentioned the case of Additional Foreign Secretary Harunur Rashid who was tipped for posting in Paris in place of Dr Abdul Majeed Khan. His case was not considered for posting abroad since he returned to the head office only recently, Mr Chowdhury added.

He said the Foreign Ministry does nominate persons for diplomatic assignments but it is the prerogative of the President to choose his representative to the head of the state of another country.

The Foreign Minister said the envoys in principle represent the head of the state and not the country.

He said Bangladesh's next Ambassador to USA has been chosen but politely declined to disclose the name.

#### Planned Moscow Visit

46001094 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
26 Oct 87 pp 1, 8

[Article by Fazle Rashid: "Humayun Goes to Moscow Dec 7"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury goes to Moscow December 7 on a six-day visit to the Soviet Union in what will be the first political contact between the two countries at the ministerial level since the change of government in 1975.

Bangladesh-Soviet Union relations sunk to a critical stage after the change of government in 1975. Mistrust replaced warmth in the Soviet-Bangladesh relations since then.

The Foreign Minister, in an exclusive interview with *THE NEW NATION* yesterday, said there was "depth" in Bangladesh-Soviet relations and his impending visit would further intensify the bilateral ties.

As a precursor to the visit Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovski had met Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury at the UN headquarters in New York recently and had given a broad hint that Moscow was looking forward to the trip for resumption of dialogue at the ministerial level.

There had been no political level contact between Bangladesh and the Soviet Union although two DCMLAs had gone to Moscow to attend the funerals of two successive Soviet Communist Party Secretary General Chernenko and Andropov. Sunil Gupta now Textile Minister had also gone to the Soviet Union for signing an agreement.

The Foreign Minister was explicit in saying there was no fundamental flaw in the Bangladesh-Soviet relations.

Mr Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury will hold discussion with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The two foreign ministers will mainly concentrate on bilateral ties. The current wave of conflicts in the Gulf, crisis in Afghanistan, and the soviet view on scaling down or eliminating the presence of nuclear arsenal from Europe will certainly find place in the dialogue between the two foreign ministers.

"The Foreign Ministers visit will presage signing of three agreements. The Soviet news agency TASS will be formally linked to BSS."

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#### New Cuban Ambassador

46001096d Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
26 Oct 87 p 3

[Text] Mrs Sonia Diaz Liera has been appointed Ambassador of Cuba to Bangladesh with residence in New Delhi, reports BSS.

Born on December 11, 1937 Mrs Liera is a career diplomat and was head of the Asia and Oceania Division of Cuban Foreign Ministry prior to her present assignment.

/9738

#### Ambassador to Saudis

46001096a Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*  
in English 29 Oct 87 p 3

[Text] The Government has decided to appoint Major-General (Retd) Quazi Golam Dastgir, at present High Commissioner of Bangladesh to Australia as Ambassador to the Royal Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, reports BSS.

Born on June 1, 1933, General Dastgir studied in St. Xavier's College Calcutta and subsequently graduated from Peshawar University, Pakistan.

He joined Pakistan Military Academy in February 1951 and was commissioned in 1953. Later graduated from Staff College, Quetta and Infantry School USA.

He served as chief of logistics in army headquarters Bangladesh Army. He commanded two brigades and on promotion to the rank of Major-General in August, 1975 was appointed Director General Bangladesh Rifles and held that post till December 12, 1977 when he joined the Ministry of foreign Affairs.

He was Ambassador of Bangladesh to Thailand from May 1978 to June 1982 and Ambassador of Bangladesh to Pakistan from June 1982 to January 1, 1983. Currently he is Bangladesh High Commissioner to Australia.

He is married and has a son and a daughter.

/9738

## INDIA

### Commentaries Criticize Government Policy in Assam

#### Student Unrest

J46000019 New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English  
15 Oct 87 p 42

[Article by Ramesh Menon: "Assam: Terror Cult; ULFA Strikes Once Again"]

[Text] The threat from the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) cannot be taken lightly. This message was reinforced last fortnight following the assassination of Dulal Bhuyen, president of the Congress(I)'s Tezpur unit. Bhuyen, who was on the group's hit list had been provided with a bodyguard recently. He, however, made light of the threat, ignored the bodyguard—and paid the price with his life. ULFA's score-card over 20 months now stands at 15 murders (10 of them political), five bank dacoities (involving Rs89.32 lakh) and five highway robberies (Rs8.57 lakh).

ULFA, which aims at secession, is essentially a byproduct of the prolonged Assam agitation. Many of its members belonged to the All Assam Students Union (AASU) which had spearheaded the movement. While most Assamese are shocked by the violence, the group also enjoys sneaking public sympathy as it talks of the state's neglect by the Centre and the necessity of retaining the Assamese identity. It also says that it will eliminate the exploiters and the corrupt.

The non-implementation of the Assam accord has only helped the group make it point. Although the police dismisses it as "a gang of criminals", most of its members do not have a police record. Says a senior official: "These boys want to do good but they have confused socialism with terrorism."

In "doing good", ULFA has trained its guns on the Congress(I). Among those killed are former rural development minister Tankeshwar Dihingia; Youth Congress(I) general secretary Ranjit Barua; the president of the Jorhat Congress(I) unit and son of a former forest minister, Rajiv Rajkhowa. Assassinated too have been Kalipada Sen, chairman of the United Minorities Front and Saurab Bora, a student leader who formed a front against the AGP.

In an attempt to pressure the AGP into taking action, last month 200 Congress(I) workers went on a 12-hour fast in Guwahati. Says Congress(I) legislative leader Golok Rajabshi: "Life has become dangerous for all opposition leaders."

Under these circumstances, the AGP is finding it increasingly difficult to deny AASU's links with terrorists. Although the student body's General Secretary, Atul Bora, recently stated that AASU did not approve of extremism, the recovery of Rs35.61 lakh in May from Sunil Nath, an AASU advisor, has brought into question the sincerity of his claim. The cash was part of the loot from the Union Bank of India, Guwahati, which ULFA had raided earlier. Other student leaders, linked to both AASU and ULFA have also been arrested.

Chief Minister Prafulla Mahanta admits that "some AASU elements have infiltrated ULFA", while his Home Minister Bhrigu Phukan explains that "in every agitation some people will harbour extreme views." Phukan adds however, that "we are not going to be soft on ULFA; we are dealing with them as we deal with criminals." The Opposition, though, finds this hard to believe although some AGP ministers have also received ULFA warnings against taking to "anti-people activity".

Although state Director-General of Police Madan Ram Choudhary says that the group—headed by "Chairman" Rajiv Rajknowar—is "on the run", this would seem over optimism. It is true, though, that the arrest of top leaders last December has been a setback to the group. These include "Vice Chairman" Pradip Gogoi, "Foreign Secretary" Gulab Barua and "Commander, Lower Assam" Rathin Talukdar.

Hardcore ULFA members—whose number is estimated between 200 and 600—however, gain sustenance from their group's tie-up with two other secessionist groups—the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) and the People's Liberation Army (PLA) of Manipur. The Assamese terrorists are trained by the NSCN in Burma and intelligence officials believe that the three organisations have worked in tandem and even shared the booty.

Of the 57 insurgents arrested in this year, 12 are from the PLA and eight belong to the NSCN. Of these, five from the PLA were arrested in early September and this success was crucial, say police officials, because apart from arms, knowledge of terrorist plans for the future has also emerged. These officials believe that the PLA has now called off its tie-up with the Assamese group because of heavy losses, though the NSCN connection continues unaffected.

In the long run, though, it is not police successes alone that will hold the key. As vital will be the image of ULFA as avenging angels that the state apparatus will have to right. And the longer Assam's problems are allowed to fester, the harder will be this task.

#### Government Apathy

J46000019 New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English  
31 Oct 87 p 70

[Article by Ramesh Menon: "Assam: Failed Accord; A Return To Unrest"]

[Text] As if Rajiv's cup of botched accords is not already overflowing, there is bad news from Assam. Following a marathon meeting recently, the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) has decided to begin a blockade of commodities—including oil—from early November. The move is aimed to "pressure the Centre to implement the Assam accord in letter and spirit".

Sixteen meetings have taken place between the state and the Centre but most of the clauses of the accord are far from being implemented. Says a disappointed Chief Minister Prafulla Kumar Mahanta: "At every meeting, they assure us that they are very keen to implement the accord. We are now convinced that they are engaged in delaying tactics." Adds Home Minister Bhrigu Phukan: "We have started doubting their intentions."

The accord had classified foreigners into three clear categories: those who had come in before 1966 from erstwhile East Pakistan would be accepted as Indian citizens; those who had arrived between 1966 and 1971 would be allowed to stay on, but without the right to vote for 10 years; and those Bangladeshis who had appeared after 1971, would be expelled.

When the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) Government set about the task of detecting illegal migrants, they found themselves constrained by the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act (IMDT), enacted specially for this purpose in 1983. The IMDT envisages primary investigation by the police in the case of a suspected foreigner and a subsequent reference to a three-judge panel of the tribunal. The police have completed investigations in about two lakh cases. Only 10 per cent, however, have been sent to the tribunal: the rest have been dropped due to lack of evidence.

Police sources complain that the act does not empower them to either arrest or extract information from the migrants. Moreover, say state officials, under the Foreigners Act, applicable elsewhere in the country, the onus of proof lies on the suspect whereas under the IMDT, it lies on the Government. This is where the problem lies, making the state Government's task virtually impossible.

Just how impossible is reflected by figures: the tribunal has disposed of only 431 cases until now; of them 259 were found to be illegal migrants; of this lot, only 116 could be deported because the rest absconded before the police could get them. The AGP and AASU feel that the act has, in fact, been deliberately designed to fail because Bangladeshi migrants form a solid vote bank for the Congress(I).

Meanwhile, reports that the Centre has conceded an amendment to the act to give it more teeth have made the minorities nervous. They fear that they may be harassed and forced out under the guise of expelling

foreigners. Says G. Osmani, MLA and an UMF leader: "How can the Centre think of giving wide powers to expel foreigners to such a racial government?"

The foreigners' issue is, of course, the major one but the fact that other clauses of the accord have not been executed hasn't helped matters either. Because the Centre failed to provide the additional forces it had promised, to detect foreigners, the state has had to spend Rs18 crore from its meagre resources to recruit 3,000 policemen.

Then, the state had wanted 18 officers appointed to register the names of foreigners. Though the Centre first insisted that all of them must be from outside Assam, it later made no move to fill the posts. Recently, it said however, that the state could appoint 10 officers and eight would be appointed by the Centre.

The accord had said that constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards would be introduced to protect the identity and heritage of the Assamese. A report chalked out by the AGP and AASU on how this could be done, however, has yet to receive a response from New Delhi. Similarly, an Indian institute of technology was to have been set up in Assam. Though land has been earmarked in Missa in Nowgong district, there is no move to fulfill this promise.

Another sore point is the treatment of government employees who had taken part in the prolonged AASU-led agitation. The cases were to be reviewed sympathetically. While the state Government says it has taken back all the cases against its employees, Central government employees suspended during the agitation are yet to be reinstated. Moreover, the state government has paid Rs30,000 to each of the 819 people killed during the agitation. But the Centre's share of Rs20,000 per victim is yet to materialise. In addition to all this is the fact that the construction of the border fence also remains almost at a standstill.

Though the general mood in the state is one of bitterness, AASU President Keshab Mahanta and General Secretary Atul Bora blame not only the Centre but also the state government which, they feel, has not been adequately aggressive. Says Himanta Biswa Sharma, general secretary of the All Guwahati Students' Union: "We will not rest until the accord is implemented."

With the AASU announcement, the AGP government is clearly under pressure. But caught as it is between the angry students and an indifferent Centre, it finds itself with limited space for manoeuvre.

**Troop Deployment of India, China Triples**  
*46000023 Cochin THE WEEK in English*  
*14 Nov 87 p 13*

[Text] Though India has denied that there is any build-up on the northern frontier, both India and China have poured reinforcements into the region and the deployment there by both now exceeds anything seen even in 1962.

In Ladakh, Indian troops have been reinforced from the normal three divisions and two brigades to three divisions and five brigades, and many of these brigades have more than four battalions each. The total strength now committed to Ladakh is actually equivalent to two strong divisions. Included in this reinforcement is additional artillery and at least one mechanised infantry battalion.

On the Chinese side, the strength has increased from two regiments, under one divisional headquarters, to a corps headquarters with two divisions and a reinforced regiment. So each side has tripled its forces.

On account of the onset of winter, it is likely that some troops have been withdrawn from the front by both countries. But both sides are quite ready to move everything back at short notice. Once spring comes, both sides may return in full strength.

In the Himachal and Uttar Pradesh sectors there has been no substantial increase in troop deployment by either side. This may be because the terrain is unconducive to any large-scale operations. Also, neither side has any substantial claim here.

The north Sikkim sector has seen a precautionary Indian build-up. One infantry battalion is normally ear-marked for this high Alpine sector, but now a brigade is stationed there. Again there might have been withdrawals with the onset of winter, but this does not imply any reduction in tension or in preparedness. The Chinese have probably no more than a regiment in this sector. It is quite likely that they have undertaken no build-up because of the difficulty of attacking through here.

In the Sikkim sector proper, the Chinese have boosted their strength from a division plus a regiment to two divisions plus a regiment. They are vulnerable to an Indian attack through the Chumbi valley, so this is a necessary precaution from their point of view. India is already very strongly entrenched here, with its XXXIII corps of three strong divisions (17, 20, 27) protecting the Nathu La, Cho La and Ha valley (Bhutan) ingress routes into India and Bhutan. There has not been any particular Indian addition here, as reinforcement is unnecessary.

The Towang sector, the flashpoint of the crisis between the two countries, has understandably seen major reinforcement by both sides. India's reinforcement has, however, far outstripped China's. As opposed to the normal brigade at Towang, and the rest of a division

stretched out between Bomibdi La and Rupa in the foothills, there are elements of three divisions (5, 21 and 57) deployed to protect this vital area, including the Bhutan flank. The magnitude of this build-up can be gauged by the deployment of a brigade at Zmethang, and of two brigades at Towang itself, so that where normally one brigade is stationed, there are now three at Towang and forward.

On China's side, a division normally protected the approaches into Tibet and this division was deployed well back in peace time. Now there appear to be at least two divisions, one of which is well forward. So the overall Chinese strength may have no more than doubled, but the strength behind the Wangdong ridge overlooking Sumdrong Chu has gone up from the usual battalion to a division.

In the central Arunachal sector there have been some forward movements of Indian battalions. Again, the inhospitable terrain makes large-scale action impossible, so that the relatively small reinforcement is quite adequate.

In the Walong sector the Chinese appear to have doubled their strength from the usual one division to two divisions. This sector has not been much in the news. India must have doubled its presence at Walong from the usual one brigade well back to two brigades forward, and troops from other divisions in the northeast are available at short notice.

There are reports (denied by the army) that two divisions of the central command (4 and 23) have been sent to eastern command to provide further back-up to the eight divisions normally stationed there. Because of the Sri Lanka crisis and the drawing down of the army headquarter reserves, it is possible that these divisions are back with central command, but in any event, it takes just a few days to move them into the northeast if required.

All in all, Chinese strength has gone up from two regular and four border divisions plus the usual independent regiments to a total of 14 divisions. The new arrivals include two corps headquarters (now called group army headquarters in China) and eight regular divisions. The Chinese reinforcement of Tibet is continuing. The impetus is given by the increased civil unrest in that region. None the less, part of the build-up is to counter the Indian reinforcement of the north. The above figures must be eventually revised upwards, though it is the number of independent regiments rather than full divisions that count. India is thus now operating in a three-front situation instead of the one-and-a-half fronts situation traditionally envisaged since the 1964 Chavan plan.

**Gandhi Interviewed on Communalism, Domestic Problems**  
*46000018 Calcutta SUNDAY in English 21 Nov 87*  
*pp 39-45*

[Article: "Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi Talks to Udayan Sharma"]

[Text] Udayan Sharma: On 30th October you completed three years of your prime ministership. What lessons have you learnt as a Prime Minister and as a person? Do you think being friendly with the opposition politicians was the right move?

Rajiv Gandhi: I think it was right. To this day, I think it is right and I try to do it even today. I have asked the opposition leaders for a meeting before coming to such a decision. But over these three years I can say that most of the opposition leaders do not think about the problems. Nor are they prepared to give our solutions. For example, when I ask them for solutions to the Punjab problem or a formula for Punjab, they can give me no answer. Instead, they ask me what I am going to do. I tell them, whatever I have been doing is known to everyone. You talk so much about Punjab, you give me a solution. But there is no reply. I ask them for a 'positive' reply. I ask them for a solution. But they can neither give a solution for Punjab nor can they do so for any other problem. Everyone can speak of the negative aspects. There are some groups opposed to modernisation. I say, if there is no modernisation, the country will be doomed. How can there be progress? How can we compete against other countries? These people say, do not talk to us of these things, we feel that there should be no modernisation. How can they talk in this manner?

Question: In 1985 when anti-defection became a law and came into the statute books, many people praised it. Today, those Congress dissidents who were in favour of the law at that time, are against it because they want the Congress to disintegrate. Have you asked any of the opposition leaders why they have turned against the anti-defection law in these two years?

Gandhi: These people are opportunists. They do not have any foresight. They should think of the country, about principles, about problems. After all they should think where they want to take the country, what are the problems these days. Pardon me, these people do not want the country to progress. They have neither the future of the country nor its prestige in mind.

Question: These people complain that in your rule, the forces of communalism have been strengthened. The dissident Congressmen think it is due to you.

Gandhi: The allegation that I am responsible is without any basis. In the past few years, all over the world such forces have gained power. But I am not putting up any excuses. These forces have to be put down. I am not shirking my responsibilities, because this country has a

lot of problems. But if we were to compare my two years with the preceding five years or even with the Janata rule, there will not be much of a difference. This problem—whether it is a communal one or one in which a few people want a separate state—will be aggravated if politics is brought in. These problems were more acute during Pandit Nehru's time. Today, people tend to forget the problems of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu or Kashmir. These problems have been with us since Independence and we have to fight them.

Question: Are you thinking of banning these communal organisations?

Gandhi: Banning does not solve any problems. Banning only hides. These organisations have to be confronted politically. We had banned the AISSF (All India Sikh Students Federation). What happened? The ban should be total. These things can be righted socially, not through law. The RSS was banned twice but the ban order had to be lifted. There should be a political will to contest these forces.

Question: In the last six months dissident Congressmen and the Indian Express leveled allegations against you. Though they could not prove these allegations, why did you party go on the defensive?

Gandhi: We gave whatever proof came into our hands. We have not tried to hide anything. But the whole thing was presented in such a way that some problems arose. Now, facts are coming to light and names have been mentioned which clearly show that neither my family members nor my friends are involved, and not any of my ministers. I have been receiving facts.

Question: But why was there no response from the party? Why did the older party men keep quiet?

Gandhi: In the beginning, we did not understand their moves or their role in the bigger conspiracy. That is why we were quiet. In the beginning we did not understand who was in the conspiracy. Sometimes it is not advisable to react so fast because it might have a "negative" effect. But it is true that we could not fathom the depths of the conspiracy.

Question: Regarding the Bofors issue, you said in an interview that none of your family members were involved. What did you mean by family members?

Gandhi: Everyone. I have the names. All those who were said to be involved are in the clear now.

Question: V.P. Singh's followers have said that you have said family members, not relatives. Is this true?

Gandhi: I do not know who said relatives. I can take the responsibility of my family members. However, since fingers have been pointed at my Italian relations regarding the Bofors issue, and that too without proof, I take

them to be members of my family because the allegations destroy the name of the country. That is why I said, and I say once again, that no one from my family is involved. My Italian relations have been named in this (Bofors issue). Not one of my Italian relations is involved. It is a lie. Even Bofors has said that they have not herd of them. I knew from the beginning that this conspiracy would not go far. That is why I was not worried.

Question: Dissident congressmen had said before the floods and the drought that you would not be able to survive this critical period. Now they say that you have been overplaying the drought to get out of your crisis. Any comments?

Gandhi: I am not overplaying the drought situation which is critical. There has not been a drought like this one in the official records. There was a drought in 1965 but it was not so widespread. The truth is that till I took an interest in drought relief programmes, till I began going to the states, the state governments were not so active. In some states, work began only after my visit. I have taken some steps now. In the coming months, foodgrains will pile up because the severity of the drought will only be experienced in December. The Karnataka government has been asking for more money for drought-relief programmes, but the state's chief minister had not even visited the drought-affected areas. My party demanded that the chief minister should visit the drought-affected areas. In Andhra Pradesh, drought relief work started only after I went.

The war against drought will start in November-December when the people will have lost all their previous earnings. There are two dry areas. One is the western region where the situation is bad. There have been no rains for the last four years—western Rajasthan, western Gujarat, Kutch, etc. Work has been going on in these areas for three years. There are some portions of Maharashtra too. In the first year, the people finished all their earnings. We can make arrangements to provide drinking water and seedlings. The people have no money and cannot buy food. There is a small stock now in some homes and markets. But I am afraid that by November-December it will finish. So, we have to get ready for relief work by November-December. If that is not possible, there will be a crisis. I am trying to find out if all the arrangements have been made.

Question: When you became Prime Minister, the press had praised you. Today the same press has made you a villain...

Gandhi: You are from the press. Perhaps you can give me a reply to this question. Tell me, what is the matter? It is difficult for me to say, perhaps, this is a reaction to too much stability. But there is something else too. Some had personal problems. There were personal aspirations and there were disappointments. This press we are talking about wanted the government to control the economic policies. How could this be possible? We had

to keep the whole country in our mind. Some wanted favours for the country's industry. They wanted to support us on condition that we sort out their problems. There is a problem with this type of press. I am not talking of the entire media but only a section of it. The people are at one level of progress, the media and industrialists are on another level. There is a lot of difference between the two. There is a difference in their aspirations and views. Since the majority is on one side we cannot pay as much attention to the industrialists and the press owners as we do to others.

Most of our large newspapers are owned by industrialists. There is freedom of the press, but as far as the newspapers are concerned there is no freedom. Their freedom is that of the owner; in other words, the owner is always in control. It is a class interest. I am not trying to belittle them, but it is natural that when an industrialist sets up an industry or puts up a newspaper, he is entitled to his view. This view clashes with the congress view because that view is not for the good of the masses. I do not mean to say that the two are at loggerheads. In a developing country, such frictions are bound to occur. The big press has some pet views. In Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's time, the big press viewed India's friendship with the Soviet Union with distrust; naturally, distrust between both has kept on increasing.

Question: Why is V.P. Singh so upset with you?

Gandhi: I have not been able to find out why he is so upset till today. Do you know why?

Question: There must be some reason. Once, at a public meeting in Kanpur, he had said: "Jab tak Rajiv tera naam rahega, tab tak suraj chand rahega." What went wrong?

Gandhi: He still speaks in a similar fashion. Now, one has to ask him what is the reason. He was speaking in such a manner when suddenly things changed. I do not know what he had in his mind and why he became so upset. When he went to Bombay he said he was with the party and its leader.

Question: Perhaps he wanted to become another JP or Mahatma Gandhi? Will he be successful?

Gandhi: It all depends on the wishes of the people. Very few people can attain the eminence of Gandhi. To become another JP or Gandhi is a difficult task.

Question: V.P. Singh and his friends in the press say that the congress can never become victorious in an election with you as the leader.

Gandhi: These people had also said that we would not win the presidential election. There would be a lot of cross-voting in the party. I had said that we would not waste time discussing these things. I said that I had trust in my partymen. The results proved my words. In the

by-elections held since 1984, except for two or three seats, we have won most of them. In the state elections, we had no chance of winning in Bengal. In Kerala there has been a shift, and the difference is very nominal. In Kerala, there were problems within the party—there were weaknesses. We knew about this but we could do little because there was no time. In Haryana, the congress has never been strong. I think the last election we won in Haryana was in 1972. A government had been formed forcibly—so these defeats cannot add up to anything. To add to that, there is a lot of difference between the state and the Lok Sabha elections. A time will come when these people will understand the seriousness of their words.

Question: But don't you feel that regionalism is more of a problem for you than V. P. Singh, the press and the Opposition parties?

Gandhi: The real danger is not only regionalism but all types of growing parochialism. Along with this are problems of chauvinism and communalism which can be found in many places. There are many reasons for this. But it is my belief that our traditional value systems have been disturbed a little. There will be some disturbance when there is progress. But it is also true that we have not taken measures to protect our value systems. I want to pay special attention to this. That is why the new education policy has been evolved. We are paying so much attention to culture. On the national level we are paying attention to interaction and mixing.

Question: The Opposition parties have been wooing the Harijans away from the Congress. How do you propose to counter this?

Gandhi: Till now it is all right. Some of the groups have benefited from our programmes but some have remained on the fringes. For this reason, we have given more power to the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes Commission. This will make a considerable difference. I have ordered that the reserved quotas have to be filled up at any cost. Till today, the reserved quotas have not been fully filled up. On paper, there were quotas but people never got the benefit. Now that will not happen.

Question: You mentioned to me sometimes back that if you had to manipulate between "money power" and political power, you did not want to remain in power. But there are allegations that you have manipulated "money power" and "political power". What do you have to say regarding these allegations?

Gandhi: I am clear in my mind. My conscience is clean. The people may say what they want.

Question: When you came to power, you decided to end the politics of confrontation. While peace has come to Assam and Mizoram, a general feeling has gained ground that the Congress has received a setback. How do you view this?

Gandhi: The political consequences of this will be understood only when we win the next election in those states.

Question: When do you think the Punjab problem will end? An accord had been reached there too.

Gandhi: The architect of the Punjab accord was Sant Longowal. He was assassinated. So what could have been done regarding the implementation of the accord was not done. The situation as it stands now is that till terrorism is ended, peace will be difficult to achieve. In the past months we have been successful to quite an extent, not only have many terrorists been killed but our intelligence agencies have been largely successful. As a result, the terrorists have become mad. Witness what happened in Chittaranjan Park in Delhi.

Question: Do you think that all avenues of a political settlement to the Punjab problem have been used up?

Gandhi: No. The solution has to be political. There can be no other solution. But this can only happen when we talk from a position of strength. Any settlement arrived at from a weak position cannot be a solution.

Question: The terrorists in Punjab have strong links with and received aid from London, Vancouver and the USA. Have you had talks with the concerned governments?

Gandhi: The Canadian government has taken strong steps. We are happy with the Canadian government. Sometimes there is a feeling that matters could be speeded up but when we see their thoroughness we are happy. We have received indications that the Americans are going to take steps too. While the Americans have not taken action like the Canadians, we have no complaints. The British government still needs to act. It is better than what it was earlier. I have talked with everyone. Mrs Margaret Thatcher criticised the terrorists openly. Even country has its laws and often one hears that this or that cannot be done. In fact, what is needed is political will. In Canada, till two years ago, things were not moving as they are now. They had then said that there were laws according to which they had to proceed. But it is there that good work (in the matter of terrorists) is being done because there are orders from the top that the terrorists have to be checked.

Question: A battle was going on between two of the country's industrial giants. Why did you let your finance minister become a party to the battle? How was the government related to the on-going battle?

Gandhi: He (the finance minister) sneaked into the fray. I was not paying attention to what he was doing simply because I trusted him. I gave him a free hand. But this is what happens when a referee starts playing the game instead of refereeing.

Question: Why is it said that you change your advisers often?

Gandhi: If you look carefully, you will see that advisers have not been changed that often. There certainly was a group at the beginning. But slowly the advisers have been eased out and I have depended more on the ministers. Many people were dissatisfied with this arrangement, but I did this intentionally. Earlier, a small group used to take the major decisions. But now I have given the responsibility of taking decisions to the ministers instead of taking them myself. Those who were in the habit of asking questions find themselves in a weak position because they do not know what is really happening. They have become slaves of the system. They used to ask everyone but the right person. The people have to be taught that there is a ministry and a minister. The ministers too must feel that they are running their ministries. Nowadays, I tell my ministers to do their work and then come and tell me what they have done.

Question: But it is true that many people take advantage of your goodness. Often one is heard saying that he is an adviser of the PM when in reality he is not. Why have you not done anything to stop this?

Gandhi: True. I have taken steps to put an end to the situation. We suffer from such a hangover of the traditional system that it takes long to change it.

Question: You seem to be tied down due to security reasons. What do you have to say?

Gandhi: I am not disturbed at all because my heart is clear. One must feel that whatever you do is right and for the good of the country. My life, I leave to God.

Question: In a country where there is talk of moving to the 21st century, sati is still prevalent. What do you feel?

Gandhi: Very upset. I have spoken out against this and written a strong letter to the Rajasthan chief minister. I am perturbed about the fact that there seems to be no law against sati. We will bring up the matter in the next Parliament session.

/9738

#### Convention Against Communalism, Separatism Meets in Delhi

46001074 Madras *THE HINDU* in English 13 Oct 87  
p 11

[Text] New Delhi, 12 Oct—A declaration calling upon all democratic minded people to rise to the occasion and accept the challenge of the disruptive forces was passed at the National Convention Against Communalism and Separatism which was held here today. The many speakers at the convention also identified the communal forces and expressed their resolve to fight them.

The West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, moved the draft declaration which stated that "the present threat to the unity of the people and the country can and

shall be met by unleashing a country-wide mass movement against communalism, separatism, obscurantism, and by instilling in the people the passion of patriotism and national unity." All democratic minded people must rise to the occasion and realise that unless the forces of communalism, fundamentalism and separatism aided and abetted by imperialism were unitedly combated, the country would be threatened with disintegration, endangering its independence.

The resolution jointly prepared by Mr Farooqi of the CPI, Mr H.S. Surjeet of the CPI (M) and political commentator Mr Nikhil Chakravarthy, drew attention to the fact that the very basis of our secular Constitution was being threatened by the communal forces. The RSS-BJP's new front organisation, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, is demanding that India be declared a Hindu State and that minorities should adjust themselves to such a condition. The Jamaat-e-Islami is demanding independent theocratic states. Similarly, the Sikh fundamentalists, while demanding Khalistan, had openly challenged the authority of even those who had taken a soft stand against them and had declared political organisations among Sikhs as irrelevant.

Atrocities against Scheduled Castes and Tribes continued to persist as a constant feature of our public life while obscurantism received direct encouragement from people in power. The heinous perpetuation of Sati and the mobilisation in support of this barbaric act was a national shame.

**Isolation of minorities:** Various communal organisations were active in dividing the people along communal lines and they were backed by organisations like the BJP, Muslim League and the United Akali Dal and thereby created a situation by which the minorities were quarantined from the rest of national life. Instead of accelerating the process of integration the very course was being reversed since independence by the ruling party and its Government. Powerful vested interests determined to disrupt the process of nation building and the advance towards social justice were using communal and caste divisions to disrupt the democratic movement of the working people, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. 'In fact it would not be wrong to say that secularism has been the worst victim at the hands of the Government,' the resolution states and proceeds to condemn the unprincipled compromises with the forces which were weakening national unity.

The minorities had to bear the brunt of the misery accentuated by the deteriorating economic situation. This combined with the aggressive posture of majority communalism accentuated the sense of alienation among the people belonging to the Muslim minority which was being exploited by the forces of Muslim fundamentalism. In order to forge Hindu-Muslim unity it was necessary to sympathetically look into the genuine grievances of the minorities while promoting the ideas of secularism. 'It needs to be emphasised that while our

Constitution guarantees the freedom of conscience, this should not be allowed to be distorted in a manner that would violate democratic norms and disrupt national unity.'

Mr Farooqi, while accepting the BJP's debate on communalism, said the BJP leaders must however make their standpoint on communalism clear. The progressive forces were fighting disruptive forces in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. The BJP supported the Vishwa Hindu Parishad which demanded a Hindu state and were in no way different from those who demanded Muslim or Sikh states. Similarly, the Prime Minister who spoke of taking the country into the 21st century had no qualms in giving patronage to a yagna to propitiate the gods for rain.

Mr Arif Mohammed Khan, while stressing the need to fight communal feelings which had seeped into the hearts of the people, expressed his distress that when Hindus were killed in Punjab only the Shiv Sena felt compelled to call for a bandh and that when Muslims were killed in Meerut, only the Shahi Imam did so. Mr Chitta Basu of the Forward Bloc said the vast majority of the people were secular in their hearts but there was a need for them to become more vocal. He attacked both the BJP's line that the secular parties were promoting minoritism, saying that this very approach strengthened majority communalism.

Mr K. P. Unnikrishnan, Congress (S), said the social roots of communalism had definitely something to do with the path chosen for development which had strengthened feudal, capitalist elements and the multi-nationals. He drew attention to the fact that the Shiv Sena had had the audacity to openly declare that they stood for a Hindu state and 'what was worse, they had been allowed to do so.'

Mr Chandrajit Yadav called for the imposition of the death penalty on all those who instigated communal riots and Mr I. K. Gujral asked rhetorically, whether the recurrence of Sati might eventually mean the revival of thuggee.

Campaign committee formed: Mr Subramaniam Potti, who chaired the convention announcing that a National Campaign Committee, consisting of representatives of the four left parties and the others had been formed to give proper shape to the campaign against disruptive forces, said this Committee would have the authority to co-opt members as was necessary. This was the most concrete proposal to emerge from the Convention.

Earlier, the speakers, leaders of political parties and non-party public personalities discussed various aspects of the communal situation in the country, its causes and the lines of political thought and action which could most effectively deal with it.

No dramatic developments in the sense of open declarations of affinities and alignments took place, but all speakers, including Mr H. N. Bahuguna and Mr V. P. Singh, stressed their support for the fight against communalism and appreciated the role played in this regard by the left parties who had taken the initiative for the convention.

The Lok Dal and Jan Morcha leaders left the venue before the Declaration of the Convention (besides condemnation of the unprincipled compromises made by the Congress, the BJP and the RSS were specifically described as communal), was officially endorsed. They did not specifically assert their agreement with the Declaration.

Among the representatives of the other non-Left political parties present, Mr Chandrajit Yadav (Janwadi) and Mr K. P. Unnikrishnan (Congress-S) were vociferous in their support of the Left parties' line, while Mr C. Madhava Reddy of the Telegu Desam said that while his party agreed with the general views expressed in the resolution they could not affirm their agreement with all the points contained till they had studied it further.

**Basu's optimism:** Addressing the gathering, Mr Jyoti Basu, the West Bengal Chief Minister, said in the situation prevailing there were many dangers but there were many opportunities as well. Expressing his faith that people would listen to reason, Mr Basu said he believed that even within the Congress which had moved away from its moorings there were elements who were unhappy. He hoped that they would make their voices heard.

In his concluding remarks, the CPI(M) politburo member, Mr H. S. Surjeet, also said that he hoped that the patriotic-minded Congressmen would join the campaign.

**V. P. Singh's call:** V. P. Singh, while giving a call for evolving a 'politics of commitment,' said that whenever 'politics of commitment' weakened, separatist forces were strengthened. As there was over-the-table economy and under-the-table economy, there was on-the-dias politics and off-the-dias politics. Parties which fought elections on communal considerations would not have the strength to fight these forces, Mr Singh said and called for a change in the electoral law so that no one could canvass on the basis of religion and caste.

The Jan Morcha leader stressed that a campaign based on economic and social justice considerations would alone avert the dangers the country was facing. The issues he had taken up like the employment problem, workers participation in the management, etc., were inextricably tied up with the fight against communalism as the lack of economic opportunity bred a feeling of discrimination.

Mr Bahuguna's criticism of the BJP was, if anything, even more subtle. While not naming that party he came out sharply against some of the policies and views the BJP holds very dear. Criticising the biased historiography which ignored the fact of successive waves of immigrants coming to India while characterising the Muslims alone as invaders, Mr Bahuguna stressed the need for proper education.

The sharpest edge of his speech was the mention of the fact that "while Punjabi Hindus speak Punjabi in matters of love and friendship, they use Hindi to express their anger and hatred" (or words to that effect) in a clear criticism of the process whereby Hindus in Punjab openly declared their mother-tongue to be Hindi though they themselves knew that it was not.

/9604

**West Bengal Assembly Adopts Hill Council Bill**  
**46001076b Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English**  
**16 Oct 87 p 9**

[Text] Calcutta, 15 Oct—The West Bengal legislative assembly today unanimously adopted a resolution on the proposal to set up a hill council for the hill areas of Darjeeling district in view of the continuing agitation of the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) demanding a separate homeland for the Nepali-speaking people.

The resolution was in line with the all-party resolution adopted at a meeting held in Calcutta on 18 September.

The chief minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, said the hill council would be set up to meet the aspirations of the Gorkha people, the views of the other parties, including other groups claiming to represent Gorkha interests.

The details of the proposal would be discussed with all concerned before the blueprint was finalised, he added.

Mr Basu said that any solution to the Gorkhaland agitation, which would have to be worked out in cooperation with the Union government, would have to recognise the overall authority of the state government. No constitutional amendment, he felt, was required to accommodate the hill council proposal, though some changes would be needed if the Union government decided to recognise Nepali as an Indian language under the eighth schedule of the Constitution.

The chief minister said that after the formation of the hill council the situation in Darjeeling would have to return to normal so that elections could be held in a free and fair manner. He hoped the relations between the proposed council and the state government would be amicable and that the present antagonistic relations with the GNLF would cease.

He said that every time an accord accommodating regional aspirations was reached, trouble sprang up in a different part of the country. It was for the political leadership to persuade all right-thinking people to work towards the nation's unity and integrity.

Those who spoke on the issue included Mr Satyaranjan Bapuli (Congress), Mr Nirmal Bose, minister for food and civil supplies from the Forward Bloc, Mr Prabodh Singh and Mr Dipak Sengupta.

Mr Prabodh Purakayastha (Socialist Unity Centre of India) sounded the only dissident note, stating that the hill people had been deprived of development funds for years and the state government had used the police force ruthlessly to quell the hill people's agitation. He charged that the state and Union governments had succeeded in aggravating the problem to its present proportions.

**PTI adds:** A noisy walk-out by the opposition Congress members, suspension for the day of five of their members, preceded by adjournment of the house twice by the speaker amidst uproarious scenes, marked the discussion on the Rawdon Square project in the assembly today.

The move by Mr Saugata Roy (Congress) demanding immediate scrapping of the project, was rejected by voice vote in the absence of the Congress members, who walked out in protest against the speaker, Mr H.A. Halim, imposing "restrictions" disallowing the mention of certain businessmen's names connected with the project.

Strongly opposing the Congress motion and condemning "their behaviour," the chief minister asserted that the Rawdon Square project would be implemented and added: "We will tackle any opposition to it."

**Darjeeling:** The GNLF-sponsored 48-hour Mirik bandh, which started this morning, paralysed life in the town.

The bandh was called by the local unit of the GNLF demanding the whereabouts of its unit secretary, Mr Ajit Bharati, who was allegedly arrested on 27 August.

/9604

**CPI Leader Scores RSS, BJP in 'New Age'**  
**Article**  
**46001076a Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English**  
**16 Oct 87 p 7**

**[Quotation marks as published]**

[Text] New Delhi, 15 Oct—In an article in the forthcoming issue of the party newspaper, NEW AGE, Mr Indra-deep Sinha, member of the central secretariat of the Communist Party of India, has claimed that the RSS and the BJP have never been part of the national ethos.

Mr Sinha claims in his article that the BJP (or its predecessor the Jana Sangh) and the RSS, which did not participate in the struggle for national independence...did not inherit any traditions of secularism and democracy."

He alleges that on the contrary, following the traditions of their opposition to the freedom struggle, they see in the rise of forces of communalism and religious fundamentalism, the vindication of their own communal ideology and policies."

Hence, according to him, "Their two-fold tactics of firstly, to infiltrate the Congress and other bourgeois parties which are not vigilant enough to stoutly defend their secular and democratic values and traditions; and, secondly, to launch a ferocious offensive against the communists and other left parties through a systematic campaign of slanders, lies and disinformation."

Both these tactics, he says in his article, are at work today. He goes on to warn that "the proneness of the Congress leadership to strike opportunist compromises with communal parties and organisations and to seek accommodation even with fundamentalist and separatist forces poses a real threat to the secular and democratic traditions of the country.

"It would be a grave mistake to dismiss the threat of RSS infiltration into the Congress. Some congressmen are already cooperative with the BJP in avowedly communal organisations like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad," the article claims.

The systematic disintegration and denunciation of secularism and democratic values "by the RSS and the BJP," according to Mr Sinha, "is accompanied by a vicious tirade against the communists."

Thus, "they are accused of having betrayed the struggle for freedom. They are accused of not condemning the Chinese aggression in 1962. They are accused of stabbing Mr Ajoy Mukherjee in the back. They are accused of frustrating the presidential contest and sabotaging opposition unity in 1987 at the behest of Moscow."

He claims that "the communists do not need to take any lessons in patriotism from the BJP or the Jana Sangh which were non-existent during the freedom struggle. Their mentors, the RSS, opposed the freedom movement in the name of defending 'Hindu interests,' and one of its leaders—Nathuram Godse—assassinated Mahatma Gandhi for his alleged crime of 'minority appeasement.' Even today, the BJP leaders, while swearing allegiance to 'Gandhian socialism' go on worshipping Godse as a 'hero' and a 'martyr.' Such is the ugly face of their Gandhian socialism."

By contrast, the article points out, "nearly 4,000 communists laid down their lives in Telengana for defending the unity and integrity of the country. Today, they are

adding another chapter to their glorious history of struggle and sacrifice by heroically fighting the so-called Khalistani terrorists and separatists in Punjab."

The article argues that "the crucial question today is not how to work out a clever formula for associating the BJP with the mainstream of left-democratic unity which...can result only in weakening the power of that unity.

"But, how to win over the dissident, dissatisfied and discontented masses, many of whom are still following the Congress to the side of the democratic opposition so as to transform it into a superior mass force capable of inflicting a decisive defeat on the Congress."

/9604

**CPI-M Issues Communiqué on Politburo Meeting**  
*46001069a Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English*  
*12 Oct 87 p 1*

[Text] New Delhi, 11 Oct—"Hindu communalism is banking on the political and electoral opportunism of the ruling party" to form a link between itself and the Congress, said the CPM in a communique after a meeting of its politburo which ended here today.

Giving this assessment of the Vijayadasami speech of Mr Balasaheb Deoras, the RSS chief, the CPM leadership called upon the "forces of secular opposition" to be "extremely vigilant against the attempts of communalists of all hues to put pressure on the ruling party."

The politburo noted that two lines had been advocated recently for the unity of opposition forces.

The first was the struggle for the unity of the left and secular opposition forces and the second the attempt by communal and separatist forces to forge unity as advocated by the BJP and some other "sections" of the leadership of "bourgeois opposition parties."

The CPM reading of the situation only notes "some successes" achieved by the first approach, and calls for continuing its struggle.

Reviewing recent developments in West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, the politburo noted the "unscrupulous" manner in which the Congress units in these states and the Central government had been behaving towards them.

The CPM regarded neither the Congress nor the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, as "communal," Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the CPM general secretary said yesterday.

But the Congress was prone to making opportunist alliances with communal parties, he noted while addressing newsmen. As example, he cited the alliance the Congress had with the TUJS in Tripura and with the Muslim League in Kerala.

Asked about his own party's earlier alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala, the CPM, he said, was strong enough to fight both the League as well as the Congress.

Mr Namboodiripad said the test of Congressmen being secular would be whether they were ready to oppose the "anti-secular policies of their leader." In this connection he mentioned the Congress alignments in Tripura and Kerala.

Asked which parties might be considered secular, he gave a rule of thumb prescription: "Anyone who is prepared to take a stand against extremists and terrorists."

He indicated that the convention earlier against communalism might not remain a one-shot affair. The thinking was to create a permanent campaign committee against communalism and separatism which would hold conventions in different states and carry out a national movement against the "twin danger."

/9604

#### Further Reportage on Asian Relations Conference

**Dalai Lama's Representative**  
*46001073 Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 4 Oct 87 p 10*

[Text] New Delhi, 3 Oct—Mr Tashi Wangdi "Kalon," representative of the bureau of the Dalai Lama, yesterday called upon the members of the Asian nations attending the current Asian Relations Conference, "who have for so long opposed and fought against imperialism and colonialism, not to condone the annexation of Tibet by China and give legitimacy to the universally-condemned actions of a colonialist power against the peace-loving people of Tibet."

In a statement Mr Wangdi said 40 years ago, a Tibetan delegation was invited to the Asian delegations conference of 1947 "to represent a sovereign nation and today there is no Tibetan participation."

"What has happened that has brought about this fundamental change in Tibet's status?" he asked and said "the peace-loving nation of Tibet was forcibly annexed and subjugated by an expansionist and colonialist power."

He said: "The invasion and subjugation of Tibet had been condemned in the United Nations General Assembly by peace-loving nations of the world, including many Asian countries, from where participants to the current

gathering have come." The former Labour Prime Minister of Great Britain, Lord Attlee, and the first Governor General of India, Rajagopalachari, two of the outstanding statesmen of the countries with which Tibet had closest contact in its dealings, had described the Chinese invasion of Tibet as brutal colonialism. In 1964 Lord Attlee, in a letter to Dr Gopal Singh said: "Indians need to realize that imperialism and colonialism are not practiced solely by Europeans. There are two outstanding Asiatic examples: one is the attack on Malaysia by Indonesia. The other is the Chinese Communist oppression on Tibet. It is vitally important that Indians should show their concern in these matters and particularly should take a strong line in the United Nations organizations. The Tibetans have the right to follow their own way of life without interference by Chinese based on claim of suzerainty long gone into disuetude."

#### 'Responsibility'

"The loss of Tibet's independence," Mr Wangdi said, "has not only brought suffering to the people of Tibet but also brought about a fundamental change in the geopolitical and security environment. The Chinese military presence in Tibet has become a major threat to peace and security in the region. Therefore, the academicians and intellectuals attending this gathering have the moral responsibility to take all these factors into consideration while deliberating on the basic issues which concern all of us."

Meanwhile, AFP adds from Chengdu, China, that a pro-independence demonstration turned violent on Thursday in Lhasa and Western tourists returning from the Tibetan capital said today that at least three Tibetans had been killed.

Arriving by air in Chengdu, south-west China's gateway city to Tibet, the tourists said a police station and five police vehicles had been set on fire during the protest and several foreigners had been detained.

The bloodshed occurred in central Lhasa around Jokhang temple. The holiest place of worship in predominantly Buddhist Tibet, they said. There was no official confirmation of the deaths.

"I saw one man lying on the ground with a piece of his skull blown off and blood pouring out of his head," said Mr Lars Pettersson, a tourist from Kristinehamn, Sweden, who said he was certain the victim was dead.

Mr Leon Schadeberg (22) of London said he saw another Tibetan, aged about 15, who was hit in the head by a bullet and died as he was being taken away to hospital.

"He died as I was watching him. Blood was spewing from his mouth," Mr Schadeberg said. "My friends and I saw three different Tibetans killed—one in the square and two others in the back streets," he added. "We heard a lot of gunfire in the crowd," said another traveller.

Returning tourists said the demonstrators, surrounded by thousands of onlookers, burnt at least five police vehicles near the Jokhang temple.

### Foreigners Hold

They said several dozen foreigners were detained by the police, but they did not know if they were later released.

The demonstration, the second to be reported in Lhasa this week, coincided with the 38th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The official New China News Agency reported this week that 26 Tibetan demonstrators clashed with police on Sunday as they marched through the streets of Lhasa, carrying a Tibetan flag and chanting pro-independence slogans.

The incident was confirmed on Wednesday by the vice-president of the Lhasa religious affairs committee, Laba Ciren, in a telephone interview from Beijing.

A West German tourist quoted the demonstrators as saying: "We are fighting the Chinese."

One witness said the protest began in the morning when several Lamas, Tibet's Buddhist religious leaders, ran around the Jokhang temple, waving Tibetan flags.

Less than an hour later, a huge crowd gathered in front of the temple as the demonstrators set fire to a nearby police station, said the tourists—a group of Australians, Americans, Swedes and West Germans.

They said some 100 policemen or soldiers converged on the scene, about 50 of whom were armed with automatic rifles, but they were unable to control the crowd.

"I saw children throwing stones at police," said one tourist, adding that the security forces had tried to stop his friends from leaving their hotels after the incident.

Several tourists said they saw a police officer or soldier on top of a nearby building, pointing a gun at the crowd and telling them in Chinese to disperse.

Police and military uniforms in China are similar except in their details, and most casual visitors would not be able to tell them apart, observers said.

"Many Tibetans told us they were very happy this was happening," said a tourist, adding that Buddhist monks were gesturing to the foreigners to encourage them to take pictures.

Several travellers said foreigners of different nationalities had put up posters in Lhasa in recent days about a resolution by the U.S. House of Representatives' human rights sub-committee, accusing China of human rights violations in Tibet.

The 16 June resolution cited Beijing for the death of one million Tibetans since the People's Liberation Army moved into the region in 1951, followed by a bloody anti-Chinese uprising in 1959.

It also spoke of the destruction of more than 6,000 temples and monasteries since then.

### Soviet Delegate's Press Conference

46001073 Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 4 Oct 87 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 3 Oct—The Soviet delegates to the Asian Relations Commemorative Conference being held here currently said their country was interested only in maintaining peace and coexistence among the peoples of the region.

The delegates told a press conference today that the Soviet Union had never insisted that the Brezhnev formula for Asian security must be accepted by the Asian nations, but that they could evolve their own formula by mutual discussions among themselves, the only aim being to achieve peace and security for Asian countries.

Among the 11 delegates to the conference, representing the Central Asian and Caucasian Soviet republics, those present at the press conference were Mr Sarvar Azimov, president of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, Mr Mukhamed Asimov, Kirghiz writer, Mr Zholon Mamyтов, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Turkmen Republic, Mr Oraz Ovezgeldyev, vice-president of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, and Mrs Narine Balayan, Armenian Minister of Social Affairs.

Asked at the press conference whether they appreciated that Mr Brezhnev's 1969 doctrine on Asian security had not been agreed to by the Asian nations, "because of the fear of Soviet dominance," Mrs Balayan and other delegates replied that the Soviet Union had never violated the frontiers of any country, "without an appeal coming from a state or a country."

"Further, we are not going to export our political system and our regime abroad. It is for every nation to decide what is good for its own politics and development. We, of course, would like the Asian countries, and especially a great nation like India, to join in the movement for peace in Asia and the world. We think that if nuclear arms are there in many countries, big or small, the possibility of a world war will increase. That is why we are stressing Asian security, peace and co-existence."

"This idea was not put forward by the Soviet Union initially. Actually, it was based on ideas propounded by the then Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, at the Asian Relations Conference 40 years ago."

"We are prepared for any other proposal, any proposal which will come up through mutual discussion. The question of Asian security will be decided by Asian countries. The Soviet Union is an Asian country, still we do not want to put pressure for any proposal and impose our will."

Mr Azimov said one of the "concrete manifestations" of the urge for peace and friendship in Asia and throughout the world could be seen in the Delhi declaration made jointly by the Indian Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi and the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, last year.

Asked to comment on the situation in the Gulf they said that the most important thing to do there was "to dismantle all military bases." The Soviet Union was against any foreign intervention in the affairs of the region.

/9604

**Long-Term Quota Policy for Garment Exports**  
*46001077 Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Oct 87*  
*p 9*

[Text] New Delhi, 15 Oct—A long term Export Entitlement (Quota) Distribution Policy for garments and knitwear and fabrics and made-ups was announced by the Government today to impart, what it called, a measure of stability in the export trade. First of its kind for the export trade in garments and made-ups—the policy would remain valid for 1988, 1989 and 1990.

Its most important features are: (i) allocation of quotas on the first come first served basis; (ii) actual performance rather than mere endorsements with the Apparel Export Promotion Council would be the criterion; and (iii) export value realisation and not the quantity shipped abroad would determine the allotment.

Under the new policy applications for quotas need not be accompanied by letters of credit. There would be no cut-off date for submitting applications. Seventy percent of the exportable superfast categories would be allotted on the basis of past performance, 10 percent earmarked for manufacturer-exporters, 2 percent for Central and State corporations, and 3 percent for non-quota exporters.

Quotas for the remaining 15 percent of the superfast categories—roughly 5 percent of the current export trade in garments—would be allotted under what is called an open tender system. Small entrepreneurs have been complaining that they are unable to compete with established exporters in categories which have a heavy demand abroad. The open tender system—an experimental measure—is intended to enable them to enter the overseas market.

The Textile Commissioner would notify which categories are to be deemed as superfast. Normally a category would be identified as superfast if its export is consistently 91 percent or more of the level earmarked for 3 years preceding the last year.

Quotas for the categories which do not come under the definition of superfast would be allocated on the basis of past performance (65 percent), first come first served (small order) (20 percent), manufacturer-exporters (10 percent), Central and State corporations (2 percent) and non-quota exporters (3 percent).

The allotment year has been divided into two periods (January to May and June to September) instead of the present three. Under the new policy, 50 percent of the allocation should be utilised during the first period and the rest during the second.

Announcing the new long-term policy at a news conference here today, the Union Minister of State for Textiles, Mr Ram Niwas Mirdha, projected an optimistic outlook for the textile export trade during the current year. But so far as garments, made-ups, etc., were concerned he did not visualise much scope for expansion in quota countries as the quotas were being almost wholly utilised. The thrust therefore would have to be on garments that do not attract quota restrictions and also on countries where the quota system is not in force, he said.

During the first 5 months of 1987-88 (April-August) the export of cotton fabrics, made-ups and cotton yarn had fetched Rs 515.01 crores, which is almost twice the export earning of Rs 261.69 crores during the corresponding months of 1986-87.

The growth in readymade garments was to the tune of 58.1 percent—from Rs 471.09 crores to Rs 744.98 crores. Silk exports had also increased spectacularly—from Rs 71.02 crores to Rs 98.42 crores. Manmade textiles and wool and woollens went up by 33 and 28.6 percent in this period.

Encouraged by these growth rates, the Textile Ministry has taken a fresh look at the export possibilities. Its current estimate is that ready-made garments, which constitute the largest single export earner, would this year fetch Rs 1,800 crores as against Rs 1,504 crores in 1986-87. Likewise the accrual from cotton fabrics, made-ups and cotton yarn is likely to be Rs 1,000 crores compared to Rs 716 crores last year.

Mr Mirdha said the definition of manufacturer-exporters had been tightened in order to make these units truly competitive. Only those units which have at least 100 machines and employ 150 persons on a regular basis would now be eligible for recognition as manufacturer-exporters.

It is open to garment exporters to make use of the advance licensing system and the pass book system. India-made fabrics are supplied to them at deemed export prices.

/9604

### Gorkha Unrest in West Bengal Continues

#### Fresh Agitation

46000032 New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English  
30 Nov 87 pp 50, 55

[Article by Kamaljeet Rattan: "West Bengal: Rising Anger"]

[Text] West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu's decision to hurriedly announce the agreement supposedly entered into with the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) seems to have backfired. Last fortnight, the Darjeeling hills saw another bout of violence and GNLF leader Subhash Ghising threatened a fresh agitation if he did not get a satisfactory response from the Centre to his demands before November 22.

The district authorities are already finding it hard to control the situation. The State Government's concern is reflected in Basu's seeking the redeployment of eight companies of the CRPF which were withdrawn recently.

The violence began after Ghising dismissed Basu's offer of a hill development council (HDC) whose formation had been backed by an all-party resolution in Calcutta on September 18. When the agreement was announced, both Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Union Home Minister Buta Singh were still issuing statements that an accord was around the corner.

Many see the resolution as Basu's attempt to force an agreement on the GNLF. Left Front Chairman Saroj Mukherjee, however, refutes this. "Basu called the meeting only after the GNLF had agreed to drop the demand for a separate state and accept the formation of an HDC. All the three parties the Centre, state Government and Ghising—are signatories to the agreement," he insists.

At his Jalapahar headquarters, the GNLF leader denies signing any agreement. "How can I accept anything without getting it ratified by my people?" he asks. Ghising says he only agreed to examine the HDC offer but Basu announced that an agreement had been reached. Says Ghising: "He will have to pay for his attempt to outsmart others."

When Ghising picks holes in each clause of the "agreement," he is essentially laying out the fresh demands he made late last month to Buta Singh. To begin with, he insists that "Gorkha" or "Gorkhaland" should be included in the name of the council. The council has been proposed as an autonomous body with control over all government institutions, municipalities and gram

panchayats in the three hill subdivisions of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong. It has been suggested as a 42-member body, one-third of the members being elected and the rest nominated. Ghising wants the number of nominated members to be restricted to seven.

His more serious contention relates to the territory under the HDC, the powers it will enjoy, and its funding. The proposal empowers the West Bengal Government to supersede the HDC and specifies that all Central aid meant for the hill region should be routed through the state Government. "We don't want to be at Basu's mercy," argues Ghising.

According to the plan, all departments except law and order, administration, tea gardens and reserve forests, will fall under the council. Ghising maintains that without law and order and administration, the HDC will be "like a man without a heart". Demanding the inclusion of Siliguri, parts of Dooars and Jalpaiguri district in the proposed council, he says that to fully develop any hill area, a sizeable stretch of land at the foothills and the plains is essential. His dissatisfaction also stems from the fact that almost all the local offices of various departments are located in Siliguri.

The CPI(M) had moved a bill in Parliament in 1982 and 1985 for an autonomous region comprising "the district of Darjeeling and the neighbouring districts where the Nepali speaking people are in a majority." Ghising says he is asking for roughly the same area as proposed in the bill. He adds that he is under pressure from his supporters to reject the agreement and launch a fresh agitation.

Basu, however, says that the bill had not specified the exact area at all. Asks Basu: "How can he claim Siliguri and Jalpaiguri where the Nepalis are not more than 7 to 8 per cent?"

Basu is in no mood for a compromise and has blamed the Centre for encouraging the GNLF by discussing what he says are fresh demands. In an angry letter to Rajiv on October 28 after the GNLF leader's talks with Buta Singh in Delhi, he said: "Subhash Ghising might be finding it difficult to carry the people with him. The price for this cannot be conceding further to his demands." Indeed, Ghising's insistence that the demand for Gorkhaland has not been dropped indicates the pressure on him from militants within the GNLF.

Ghising can seek comfort in the fact that he has at least made new friends. The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has decided to back the GNLF along with the North Bengal Adivasi Kalyan Samiti. Samiti leaders had accompanied Ghising to meet Buta Singh.

With Basu and Ghising both firm on their stands, there seems to be little hope of peace returning to Darjeeling.

**Interview With Basu**

46000032 New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English  
30 Nov 87 p 55

[Article by Kamaljeet Rattan: "I Call Ghising a Double-talker"; first para introduction]

[Text] INDIA TODAY Senior Correspondent Kamaljeet Rattan met West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, 73, to gather his views on the Gorkhaland issue which seems to defy solution. Excerpts.

Question: Will the state government make any fresh concessions go GNLF?

Answer: I have nothing more to offer because the agreement involves the prime minister, home minister and myself. All the political parties have endorsed it. It is also based on resolutions passed twice in the Assembly. Ghising's demands on the area of the HDC were rejected outright by the Centre in June-July. Ghising's argument was that people in these areas have supported his movement. How can he claim Siliguri and Jalpaiguri where the Nepalis are not more than 7 to 8 per cent?

Question: Do you mean Ghising had agreed to an HDC with only three sub-divisions of Darjeeling?

Answer: Absolutely. He gave an undertaking to the Centre on this. But he asked for some time to convince his people because he had roused their passions. And so an eight-point agreement was handed to him in which no mention was made of the territory.

Question: Ghising says it was understood that both the Centre and the state had agreed to the areas marked by the GNLF in its map for Gorkhaland.

Answer: No, no. Ghising had mentioned all this but it was rejected outright. The idea was to discuss issues in detail later. but everything has gone awry after Ghising led another delegation to Delhi with fresh demands.

Question: Are you concerned only with the Gorkhas' economic aspirations?

Answer: No, with all their aspirations. We have been fighting to get them regional autonomy for 20 years because they live in a compact region where 90 to 95 per cent of the population is Nepali. But the areas Ghising is asking for are not contiguous with the Nepali-populated hill areas. Viability of the HDC. What does he mean? The HDC will not be a separate state; the question of viability does not arise.

Question: But isn't Ghising asking for the same area which the CPI(M) had asked for twice through bills in Parliament?

Answer: No, we never gave any details of the geographical composition. Our bill asked for an "autonomous region comprising such areas as may be specified of the district of Darjeeling and neighbouring districts where the Nepali speaking people are in a majority". We find that nowhere are they in a majority in any area adjacent to the proposed HDC. They are not and Ghising knows this. He has given the names of some far-flung basties dominated by Nepalis but there is no contiguity between them. Now e cannot have corridors of links while forming such a council. It would be absurd.

Question: What are your comments on the Centre's role?

Answer: Just before the assembly election in March we came to an understanding with them. We are sticking to the understanding and I hope the Centre is also sticking to it. I do not object to their meeting Ghising but I only want that he must be categorically told that he cannot ask for any expansion of territory, nor can be come up with any more unreasonable demands. He says one thing in Delhi and forgets about it after returning to Darjeeling. That's why I call him a double-talker.

Question: It is alleged that you tried to force the HDC proposal on the GNLF by making it public.

Answer: Don't we have a right to tell our people about the progress of talks? I did so only after the Centre said that they have sent the message to Ghising. And in any case the matter is settled between us and the Centre.

Question: If the agreement is rejected by Ghising, then?

Answer: If he rejects it, then it is all over. We will have to see; he has already started violence. He is asking for compensation for those who have been affected. But who will compensate the state government for a property loss worth Rs8 crore? Our 42 comrades have been killed. All of them were Nepalis. Anyway, we are showing patience. Let us see what happens.

/06662

**IRAN**

**South Africa Strengthening Ties to IRI**  
46400019a London KEYHAN in Persian 29 Oct 87 p 8

[Text] By signing a secret treaty with the racist regime of South Africa, the Islamic Republic has agreed to give crude oil to that country in exchange for a number of TOW anti-tank missiles. International arms brokers have said that the value of the secret transaction between the Islamic republic and South Africa is \$30 million.

The London weekly OBSERVER reported that a month ago an English arms and munitions merchant ignored laws prohibiting arms sales to South Africa, and provided South Africa with 2,500 TOW anti-tank missiles for export to the Islamic Republic.

The aforementioned weekly wrote: The secret transaction between the Islamic Republic and South Africa shows that relations are expanding between South Africa's president Botha and the Islamic Republic's regime. The political and commercial ties between Pretoria and Tehran are strengthening at a time when the Islamic Republic has outwardly forbidden any kind of transaction with South Africa. Moreover, as an OPEC member, the Islamic Republic is obligated to avoid absolutely the sale of crude oil to the Pretoria regime. Simon de Brussel, an OBSERVER analyst, predicted that Iraq will have reaped a huge propaganda profit from the disclosure of relations between the Islamic republic and South Africa and the revelation of the barter exchange of petroleum for arms between the two countries, and that it will make use of this development in its propaganda war against Tehran.

Continuing its report, this weekly wrote: The person conducting the sale of TOW missiles to South Africa is Mike Ranger. He is president of Ranger's Arms Company, and manages the company secretly. Mike Ranger confirmed the sale of 2,500 TOW missiles to South Africa. Noting that the transaction has not yet taken place, he claimed that he has no information about relations between Pretoria and Tehran, and does not know that South Africa is buying these missiles for export to the Islamic republic.

#### Iranian Crude Oil Exchanged for TOW Missiles

Quoting international arms dealers, the OBSERVER wrote: The missiles in question will never go to South Africa. As soon as the documents pertaining to this nation's barter deal with the Islamic Republic are exchanged and crude oil from Iran begins to move to South Africa, ships bearing TOW missiles will sail for Iranian ports. South Africa has no oil and must buy oil from the nations that produce it in order to meet its needs for this energy-producing substance.

Mike Ranger was not willing to disclose the details of the sale of TOW anti-tank missiles to South Africa. Even so, he confirmed that on 11 September of this year during a contact with South African officials he declared his willingness to sell 2,500 missiles to this nation. The OBSERVER reporter wrote: Although the proposal to sell these missiles must of necessity be submitted to South Africa, the proposal was sent to an English company named the International Import-Export Company, located in the city of Ramsey on the Isle of Man. Commercial sources in the international arms trade believe that this company does not really exist, that the name 'International Import-Export Company' is simply a bank account with one of the principal banks of Ramsey.

The OBSERVER added: Since the arms under discussion will never be on English soil, their sale to South Africa or any other nation will not be in violation of current laws forbidding the sale of arms to some nations.

However, in view of the fact that all European nations have been forbidden by the United Nations to sell arms and munitions to South Africa, the shipment of these weapons to South Africa or the Islamic Republic from any European nation is in violation of current laws. In the last few years, due to laws restricting the sale of arms, the Islamic Republic and South Africa have been obliged to turn to international black markets to obtain the arms they need, and to buy significant quantities of various kinds of weapons at very high prices.

TOW anti-tank missiles are produced by the Hughes Aircraft Company in California. Several other nations, including Israel, who have permission to produce these missiles, produce and export these weapons to buyer countries. TOW missiles can make an 800-millimeter hole in the body of a tank, and they have a range of four kilometers. This type of missile is in great demand throughout the world. It was America's shipment of these very missiles to the Islamic Republic last year that led to the Irangate scandal.

In the last few years, the issue of secret relations between the Islamic Republic and South Africa has been the subject of much attention and discussion in political circles in the Middle East and the world. The Islamic Republic still holds shares in a refinery in South Africa which were purchased by Iran prior to the revolution. In addition to this refinery, some time ago the Islamic Republic purchased quantities of concentrated uranium from uranium sources in Namibia. The English press has published detailed reports on the secret uranium transactions between the Islamic republic and South Africa. Some international oil experts believe that South Africa secretly buys most of the oil that it needs from the Islamic republic. Apparently the Wilhelms-Hoffen refinery in West Germany is primarily engaged in buying oil from the Islamic Republic and refining it for shipment to South Africa.

Moreover, about 18 months before the disclosure of the illegal sale of arms and munitions by the state-run Voest-Alpine company (Austria) to the Islamic Republic, it became clear that the Inter-trading Company (Voest-Alpine's commercial branch) had supplied South Africa with some of the oil it had obtained from the Islamic Republic.

9310

#### IRI Reportedly Selling Oil to USSR in Exchange for Weapons

46400020a London KEYHAN in Persian  
29 Oct 87 pp 1,13

[Text] The USSR has agreed in principle to provide the Islamic Republic with a number of Scud-5 surface-to-surface missiles. On the basis of an agreement signed

recently by representatives of the two nations, the Islamic Republic agreed to provide the Soviet Union with 100,000 barrels of crude oil daily in exchange for weapons.

The weapons to be given to the Islamic Republic will go to Tehran through Syria. Informed sources announced that Libya, because of coming closer to Iraq, will no longer provide Scud-B surface to surface missiles to the Islamic Republic. For the same reason, in the future the primary intermediary in the transfer of Soviet arms to Tehran will be Damascus.

According to Safa Hayeri, political analyst for the newspaper INDEPENDENT of London, Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister of the Islamic Republic, who visited Damascus two weeks ago, met in that city with Yuri Varontsov, Soviet deputy prime minister for foreign affairs. They talked and exchanged views concerning various issues, including economic cooperation between the Kremlin and Tehran and conditions in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. Safa Hayeri writes: Informed sources have disclosed that among the subjects discussed by Mir Hoseyn Musavi and Yuri Varonstifof, special attention was given to the possibility of the sale of new Russian weapons to Tehran.

Continuing his article, the aforementioned analyst added: Some time ago the Soviet Union and the Islamic Republic signed a treaty of mutual cooperation in which they agreed to cooperate on Caspian Sea oil exploration, the exchange of technical information and advanced drilling equipment, and in other economic and technical areas.

Quoting French experts on Soviet affairs, Safa Hayeri writes: Relying on the recommendations of Yuri Varontsov, the Kremlin has begun selecting new policies for issues of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, and in the implementation of these policies special priority is given to support for the Islamic republic.

The newspaper INDEPENDENT added: His short and quiet stay in Damascus was not without relevance to the presence of Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister of the Islamic Republic, in that city.

This newspaper also mentioned the establishment of air links between Moscow and Tehran and the resumption of passenger flights by the Aeroflot Company to Tehran as another indication of the strengthening of economic and political ties between the Kremlin and Tehran.

### Calm Soviet Reaction

With regard to attacks by American warships on the Rostam and Rakhsh offshore drilling platforms in the Persian Gulf, the Soviet Union gave a relatively calm reaction, contenting itself with the usual words of condemnation.

Early in the week, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Genadi Gerasimov told news reporters: The attack on the Rostam and Rakhsh oil rigs is seen as an unequivocal violation of international law, and this is unacceptable from the point of view of international law and in ethical and political terms. Genadi Gerasimov accused America of becoming in practical terms one of the participants in the eight-year war between the Islamic Republic and Iraq. He told correspondents: Although America was one of the nations which actively took part in writing United Nations Security Council Resolution 598, what took place in the Persian Gulf violates the spirit of Article Five of this resolution. This article clearly states that the various nations of the world emphatically must refrain from any act that would worsen the crisis in the area. The Soviet foreign ministry spokesman again stressed his nation's political position on the Persian Gulf crisis. He said that all American and European forces in the Persian Gulf must withdraw and that United Nations peace keeping forces must take their place in the task of protecting international sea lanes. The news agency TASS called the attack by American warships on Iran's oil rigs in the Persian Gulf an "act of aggression" and a vain attempt by the White House to repair America's damaged credibility in the Middle East after the Irangate scandal.

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### Rents Reportedly Double in Six Months

46460025a London KEYHAN in Persian 5 Nov 87 p 8

[Text] Rental rates for homes in most Iranian cities increased 350 percent in the decade 1353 to 1363 [21 March 1974-20 March 1984]. According to a report from the Central Bank of Iran, if a housing unit rented for 3,000 tomans per month in 1353 [21 March 1974-20 March 1975], in 1363 [21 March 1984 -20 March 1985] its rent increased to more than 13,500 tomans. Yet rents have increased even faster since 1363, so much so that rental industry insiders believe that in the current year 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988] rental rates will increase at least 100 percent over last year, and in some cases have already more than doubled.

According to a report in the newspaper KEYHAN (Tehran), the monthly rent on a three-bedroom home in Tehran's Zibashahr area is 9,000 tomans. Moreover, before a rental contract is signed about 300,000 tomans must be paid as a deposit.

The second story of a building on Sarbaz Street—which has two rooms—has a security deposit of 450,000 tomans. According to the same report, in the last few months, a third floor one-bedroom apartment in north Tehran with a security deposit of 200,000 tomans and renting for 8,000 tomans, a two-bedroom apartment in the Narmak area with a security deposit of 400,000 tomans and renting for 5,000 tomans per month, a one-bedroom on Dampezeshki street with a security deposit of 100,000 tomans and renting for 5,000 tomans

a month, and a two-bedroom on Rey street with a security deposit of 100,000 tomans and renting for 5,000 tomans per month have been available to renters.

The above figures show that rents on homes have shown extraordinary increases in the last few months. Rent increases also show that despite the government's claim to be monitoring food costs, there is no control of any kind being exercised on the current housing market, and apparently it is only the system of supply and demand and the restless search of the people for housing that determine rental rates. Even now purchases, sales, rentals and deposits are taking place in the market and being imposed on 2.5 million Iranian renters without any controls.

### Rents Double in Recent Months

On the basis of reports from Tehran, in the last few months rents have approximately doubled without any regulation or control. Economic observers believe that this price increase has produced many problems for about 700,000 Tehran renters and 2.5 million homeless families in Iran. Currently about two to three million families in Iran are homeless. Accordingly, with a simple calculation it becomes clear that about one-fourth of society, 90 percent of whom are urban residents, live in rental housing and carry the heavy burden of rents and deposits.

Even now in the current housing market most landlords are demanding high deposits and rents. Renters have no choice but to sell part of their belongings or borrow at high interest to pay deposits to landlords to obtain shelter in which to live their lives and shelter their families.

Statistics show that about 360,000 families are added annually to the ranks of those seeking housing in the country. At the same time, only 200,000 units are built and placed on the market annually by the government and the private sector in a year. Adding this number of people to the 2.5 million renters has caused greater increases in inflation in this sector and continuous increases in rents and deposits, so that even now more than 70 percent of the income of families is used for shelter costs. Moreover, the severe shortage of most construction materials and tools, more than a 50 percent decline in the capacity to build housing, an open market and the lack of specific regulations on housing purchases, sales and rentals have brought much and continuous pressure to bear on one-fourth of the nation's society.

In one part of his report the reporter from the newspaper KEYHAN (Tehran) wrote that increases in sale and even rental prices for homes following a period of stagnation in the market will bring very negative and disturbing consequences for the incomes and expenses of families.

### Monthly Rentals Twice Worker's Monthly Wage

According to the experts, expectations are that, along with price and rent increases, some landlords wishing to raise rents will soon force their tenants to move out or pay higher rents. Experts believe that the shake-up in the housing market places renters, especially those with low incomes and no housing, in a difficult position. These experts believe that in the last few years no kind of actual movement or positive and effective planning has been implemented by insiders in the housing sector for the purpose of holding down prices and breaking down the high cost of rental housing.

A housing expert announced that the monthly rent for a house consumes at least 50 percent of a renter's total income, and is sometimes twice a workman's wage. Despite this, the unbridled rent increases of the last few months have been frighteningly sudden and unexpected for renters, and have destroyed their hope of seeing lowered and stabilized prices in the housing market in the future. The people believe that prices are set at whatever the traffic will bear without any controls by insiders and housing officials. Deposits become higher, rents go up, renters are faced with new housing problems every day, and the various costs wear them down. Each time they must allocate a greater portion of their wages to housing and reduce other expenses for the benefit of landlords. Experts believe that supply and demand in the housing industry is pushing prices up with greater force every day. The 2.5 million unit national housing shortage constantly pushes prices upward. High population growth, the loss of most of the capacity to produce construction materials, reduced ability among the people to meet construction costs, and crippling administrative laws and regulations on the issuance of construction permits are seen as some of the important reasons for the housing crisis.

Economic experts predict that inflationary growth will continue in the housing industry during the next decade, because each year the number of persons demanding housing in the country will increase and demand will increase rapidly.

One expert believes that currently less than half of the housing production capacity is active. This expert cites the failure to make use of housing production capacity because of administrative problems and the shortage and high cost of construction materials as the main reasons for the reduced availability of housing.

9310

### Gulf War Seen Profitable for IRI's Neighbors

46400023a London KEYHAN in Persian 5 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] The Islamic Republic and Pakistan have reached an agreement to use two Pakistani ports for shipping goods to Iran. Following a trip to Pakistan by Irvani, the Islamic Republic's minister of economics and financial

affairs, and an accompanying delegation, it was announced that on the basis of the new agreement, every year two million tons of goods will be sent to Iran through Karachi and one other port. Members of the Iran-Pakistan Commercial Commission also agreed to increase commercial exchanges with Pakistan next year to \$400 million. On the basis of this agreement the Islamic Republic will deliver 20,000 barrels of oil daily to Pakistan. The Pakistanis will also purchase 200 buses from Iran. The Islamic Republic will also purchase 100,000 tons of rice from Pakistan.

We note that the continuation of the war between the Islamic Republic and Iraq provides a suitable opportunity for Iran's neighbors to sign profitable commercial contracts with the Islamic Republic, and every year the volume of such contracts increases.

Turkey, the Soviet Union, Syria, Pakistan and further away, Bulgaria and several other Eastern European nations are among the nations that have profited greatly from the continuation of the war. Some countries, such as Turkey and Syria, have even been able to improve their shaken economies using this development.

In 1363 [21 March 1984-20 March 1985] Pakistan signed a \$100,000 treaty with the Islamic Republic and shipped manufactured goods, rice and other foodstuffs to Iran, and received oil in return. Last year the volume of the Pakistan treaty reached \$200,000, for the coming year the level of this treaty was increased to \$400,000, and it is predicted that it will increase again.

During the trip by Irvani and his delegation to Pakistan it was also agreed that the Islamic Republic would use Port Karachi and another port to ship goods. Two weeks ago after the rocket attack on the Kuwaiti oil terminal the Islamic republic issued a memo ordering the units involved to evacuate Bandar 'Abbas. According to the writing of Western analysts, Pakistan has made its Gwadar port available to the American navy for the construction of an airfield and military installations.

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**IRI Biggest Provider of Oil to Turkey**  
*46400023b London KEYHAN in Persian 5 Nov 87 p 2*

[Text] The Islamic Republic announced that it has agreed to deliver six million tons of oil to Turkey this year, and to increase this amount. The treaty to sell this quantity of oil was signed in Tehran during a trip by Kazim Ogay (Turkish deputy minister of petroleum) with Gholam Reza Aqazadeh, minister of petroleum.

This year Iran was the largest exporter of oil to Turkey, and during the first seven months of this year it sold about \$500 million in oil to this country.

Turkey has also expressed an interest in building a pipeline for transporting Iranian natural gas over Turkish soil to the Black Sea for transfer to Europe.

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**Relations Intact with Most Gulf Nations in Spite of War**

*46400022a London KEYHAN in Persian 5 Nov 87 p 8*

[Text] The Kuwaiti government regularly exports various industrial and consumer goods to the Islamic Republic, including technical implements and light and semi-heavy machinery and parts, using Persian Gulf maritime routes and freighters and small ships. The recent attacks by the Islamic Republic's forces on ships bearing Kuwaiti oil as well as the recent rocket attacks on that country's oil export terminal have not done that much damage to continued commercial relations between Kuwaiti and Iranian ports. Kuwaiti exports to the Islamic Republic continue to enter Iran's various ports, especially Bandar 'Abbas, and from there they go to their destinations within Iran.

According to Robert Fisk, analyst for the TIMES of London, the continuation of political relations and diplomatic contacts between Tehran and most of the Arab nations of the Persian Gulf, despite the region's dangerous crisis, is not without reason and justification. The primary reason for the continuation of these relations must be sought in the cultural and economic past of the people living on both sides of this Gulf and in the traditional needs of the nations around this body of water.

The Islamic republic currently has official political and economic relations with all the Arab nations in the Persian Gulf basin except Iraq. Until a few weeks ago, political relations between Tehran and Baghdad continued despite more than seven years of bloody warfare and the loss of life for hundreds of thousands of people from both countries. Currently the Islamic republic's aircraft regularly take Iranian political, economic, commercial and trade delegations to the capitals of the Arab nations of the Persian Gulf. On the other hand, many merchants and wealthy persons of the region's Arab nations still travel to various points in Iran, and some of them buy property, real estate and homes in such Iranian cities as Shiraz and Tehran and on the shores of the Caspian Sea. For a great many wealthy Arabs of the nations of the Persian Gulf, Iran is a tourist country. For this reason many of them go to Iranian cities to spend their annual vacations. On the basis of official commercial statistics pertaining to the Arab nations of the Persian Gulf, these nations still consider a great part of their import and export items to be dependent on their continued commercial relations with the Islamic republic. The consumer markets of the nations of the Persian Gulf are eager to buy the Islamic republic's various export goods. Goods imported from Iran—including various kinds of

traditional goods and semi-industrial products—beginning with laundry detergent and hand-woven carpets and ending with apples, pomegranates, melons, caviar and pistachios. The Islamic republic also procures and imports the goods and products it needs from Dubayy and other ports of area nations.

### Bahrain Sells Refined Petroleum Products

In one part of its article, the TIMES of London wrote: On Hormoz Island near the Strait of Hormoz the Islamic republic has an import terminal. Every day at this terminal a number of small ships and medium-capacity tankers deliver to the Islamic republic petroleum by-products refined at refineries in the Arab nations of the Persian Gulf. According to a report from international shipping sources, every week at least one tanker bearing kerosene and aircraft fuel goes from Bahrain to Dubayy, where it delivers its cargo to tankers belonging to the Islamic republic. These ships take the collected by-products to Iran's ports at the northern end of the Persian Gulf and make them available to the Islamic republic's army and air force—which are fighting the war with Iraq.

Elsewhere in its report, the TIMES of London wrote: At some of the ports of the Persian Gulf's Arab nations, including Ajaman, Dubayy and Kuwait, every day several commercial ships belonging to the Islamic republic can be seen docked for service. The commercial ship repair and service industries belonging to the Arab nations of this area are repairing Iranian ships without regard for what is going on in the world of politics. At the present time the supply ship Musa, which was damaged by Iraqi air attacks, is docked at Port Jedaf (near Dubayy), and Philippino workers of ship repair companies are repairing it.

At the ship repair dock in Dubayy two large tankers belonging to Iran which have been hit by French Exocet missiles have called, and Arab and non-Arab workers are repairing them.

At the end of his report Robert Fisk wrote: The interests of the Islamic Republic in its relations with the Arab nations of the Persian Gulf are not purely political. Cultural and economic needs play a more important role than politics in forming and continuing those relationships. The Arab nations of the Persian Gulf have now become the homes and residences of hundreds of thousands of Iranians who have come to these areas over the last half century to find work and trade. For this reason the cultural, economic and family ties of these persons to their homeland will guarantee continued contacts between the northern and southern shores of the Persian Gulf.

### PAKISTAN

#### Reentry into Commonwealth, India's Stand Discussed

46560005b Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 10 Oct 87  
p 10

[Text] Reportedly, India has threatened to oppose Pakistan's inclusion in the Commonwealth every step of the way. The question of Pakistan's entry into the Commonwealth is presenting difficulties, and this highlights what a despicable role India is playing in this regard. Pakistan encounters Indian hostility and opposition in every forum. In our country, however, a pro-Indian lobby has emerged that is trying to bring about a one-sided friendship with India, and without concern for national stature and pride, wants Pakistan to give in before India. Sometimes this lobby offers India a common defense proposal, and at other times it begs India to accept a nonaggression pact. Sometimes it resorts to cricket diplomacy in an effort to placate India. Now the heads of provinces, too, are toeing the same line. Today, when the forces of both countries are waging a war at a height of 7,000 feet at Siachin, we are staging the World Cup farce, and on the cricket field we are engaged in the hopeless task of bringing the two nations together. The fact is that where India is concerned, we suffer unnecessarily from an inferiority complex. If we can make ourselves strong, it should not be difficult to shatter Indian dreams of supremacy. After all, even under the shadow of a superpower such as America, small countries exist freely and independently. Similarly, the Afghan people have not been cowed by an expansionist power such as Russia. Turkey is not afraid of Russia, and even weak Albania knows how to safeguard its independence. We should stop caring about India.

12286/9604

#### Benazir Bhutto Reportedly Revising Views on Party Policies

46560002 Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 29 Sep 87  
p 10

[Editorial: "Policy Statement by Benazir...Signs of Change!"]

[Text] Speaking at a ceremony in Lahore to mark the publication of a book, the leader of the People's Party, Miss Benazir Bhutto, stated that her party believes in a "socialist democracy" rather than any form of communism. Because, she said, communism is a collective philosophy of life; it does not represent faith in religion and God, but in materialism. Experience shows that where there is communism, neither democracy nor freedom exists. Gorbachev does talk about democracy, but then he is forsaking communism and proceeding toward social democracy. Miss Benazir spoke in great detail with reference to communism, socialism and left-wing politics. She described how communists and socialists have penetrated into the party, and said that they provide

interpretations of the party policies according to their personal ideologies. Thus, she said, "an effort is being made deliberately to involve the People's Party workers in ideological differences so that the party may be weakened." Miss Benazir admitted that "no one from outside can harm the party, but an effort is being made within the party to weaken it." This clearly means that Miss Bhutto should concentrate on the internal ranks of the party. If she has the courage and strength, she should give priority to taking responsibility for purifying the party. These people should not be allowed to remain active within the party, and thus finally succeed in having their own way. Miss Benazir's deceased father was the victim of such a tragedy. During the initial stages of the formation of the party, he neither professed communism nor spoke in favor of socialism. Rather, at one stage, he said that the slogan he was raising was essential to suppress communism. Very soon, however, Mr Bhutto became helpless in the face of the party "hawks." The slogans, "Socialism is our way of life," "Let socialism come!" "Asia is Red" and a kind of towdy radicalism, kept gaining strength. These elements first guided their party, and then their party administration, in the light of their own ideologies alone. Thus, they created a situation of ideological anarchy throughout the country, to the extent that the slogan "Long live socialism" sounded louder than the slogan "Long live Islam." Abusing the United States and talking in socialist terminology was fashionable. To destroy the national economy, the path of nationalization was taken. The question is whether all this happened against the wishes of "chairman" Bhutto. To accept this logic would mean agreeing that Mr Bhutto had become a prisoner of the ambitions of a "limited" group within the party. In this perspective, therefore, what guarantee is there that the changes in her policies that Miss Benazir is talking about today would have permanent status, and that some people within the party, once again, would not be successful in having their own wishes implemented? Time alone will tell. In any case, Miss Benazir has turned completely away from several points in the platform of the People's Party that was emphatically enunciated during President Ziaul Haq's 10-year tenure. This diversion is certainly healthy. We are pleased to note that Miss Benazir has relinquished the slogans that were raised immediately after her arrival in Pakistan last year, and that she has begun to accept the current political process. Miss Benazir also realises that the politics of agitation threatens the loss of the present democracy, which, although not recognized by her as complete, is certainly perceived by her as a means of proceeding toward democracy. Furthermore, martial law can return. Similarly, Miss Benazir has expressed concordance with the national policy regarding Afghanistan. In her recent speech, she gibed some of her own colleagues with the remark that "the Soviet Union and Afghanistan themselves have changed their policy regarding Afghanistan, but perhaps our local communists are totally unaware of this." Miss Benazir decisively declared the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan unacceptable, saying, "If Mr Bhutto were alive today, he, too, would not accept the presence of Soviet forces in

Afghanistan." Miss Benazir Bhutto also realizes that as long as war exists in Afghanistan, the Afghan refugees present in Pakistan will not be able to return to their homeland. We believe that such remarks by Benazir hold the status of a policy statement, and that, in view of the national requisites, signs of change in Benazir's thinking are clearly visible. These changes, however, should acquire permanent status. The elements within the party whom she has accused of "harming" it are visible to her also. The responsibility for marching forward by clearing a way through them rests with her alone, since the agitators claim that they alone are the guardians and custodians of the ideology and thinking of the party. Miss Benazir, however, is saying something else, and so to speak, she is "crushing" them. It appears that at present the party is the victim of major internal conflict. First, the internal "uncles" wish to have their own way. Second, ideological differences are becoming evident. Third, the clear defeat of the People's Party in Mian Channu's local elections created differences at various levels within the party. In such circumstances, therefore, it is the duty of the party leader, Miss Benazir, to purify both the right and left wing in order to harmonize party politics with the national demands. In politics, to lead elements with disparate viewpoints is not only difficult but impossible. Moreover, it is harmful to the party. The party has had this experience before. National parties cannot undergo such experiences again and again. The People's Party is a significant political organization in Pakistan. Benazir regards herself as a daughter of Pakistan. Therefore, she should make only those decisions that are in the interest of Pakistan.

9779/9604

Pakistan Criticized for Releasing Soviet  
Helicopter Pilots  
46560004c Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 8 Oct 87  
p 10

[Editorial: "Demonstrate Your National Sense of Honor"]

[Text] The government of Pakistan has released six members of the crew of two helicopter gunships to the Soviet Embassy. You would have read their story of picnic in the newspapers. Recently, the Foreign Ministry presented these individuals before an urgently called press conference also, where a government spokesman clarified that Pakistan had protested to the Soviet Union about the helicopters incident. In response to that, the Soviet Union requested the return of the helicopters and their crew. The request has been granted as an expression of good will, and this crew is being returned to the Soviet Union. This, thus, is the drop scene of the entire drama. In a sense, the news published a few days ago that the Soviet helicopters came to Chitral for a "picnic" proved to be true. Whether, Pakistan, by returning the Soviet crew, has expressed sentiments of goodwill, has demonstrated weakness or has conveyed a message to the United States that "if you do not help us, we would seek

help from someone else!", nevertheless, this whole incident has adversely affected the morale of the nation. The government of Pakistan has been demonstrating such type of weakness previously also. Last year the ring-leader of the brutal activities of the Hathora group, and a resident of Libya, Ahmad Ummar, too, was released to Libya instead of being prosecuted as alleged. The height of the administrative weaknesses of the Pakistani government is that hundreds of thousands of foreigners have entered the country illegally and with false documents. These people, in order to resolve the conflicts of their own country, have started to utilize our homeland as their new battlefield. As a result, we are facing numerous problems. The administration, however, has been extremely generous in this regard. The height of its "liberal mindedness" is such that instead of taking some action against these elements as desired by the people, the administration is assuring the foreign governments of its future good conduct. Now, the incident of the return of the Soviet pilots has truly exposed the weaknesses of the country. Rather, it seems as if the sentiments of 100 million people of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan have died down, and that the thing known as the sense of national honor has become rare. It is unclear as to what delicacies and strategies the elders of the Foreign Ministry have in view, on the basis of which the Soviet crew has been hastily returned. The people or the representatives of the people are also unaware of the fact as to whether or not it was felt that there was need for a preliminary investigation and inquiry into the incident of those helicopters that had landed to distribute ammunitions. Rather, the question arises in the minds of the national circles as to why the laws that exist against those who enter the country illegally were not acted upon and why all the requisitions of justice were not fulfilled. The extent of the irony is that the National Assembly is in session. But, still, it was not deemed essential to take the elected representatives of the nation into confidence. The purpose of this criticism of ours is not at all that Pakistan should, at all costs, call for the Soviet Union's displeasure. But, if some incident has taken place, then, without pondering over all its aspects, to leap forward in such a haste unilaterally in order to gain the Soviet Union's pleasure is contrary to wisdom, prudence and national honor. The Soviet crew has confessed that they belong to a brigade of the KGB. This confession in itself is sensational. In view of this factor, therefore, the excuse that they are not associated with any group of the Soviet army present in Afghanistan carries no weight at all. To accept this excuse would mean that the Soviet forces present in Afghanistan and those in the Soviet Union are opposed to each other, or else, they have no connection with each other. If we believe the flight story as narrated by the Soviet crew, it would also mean that starting their flight from Kazakhstan, they crossed even the unsurpassable range of the world's highest plateau of Pamir and the Hindu Kush mountain. Our defence experts must definitely be fully aware of the capability of the MI 24 brand gunships. We, therefore, hope that they would certainly review the route described by the Soviet crew. However, no one denies the fact that this is not the first

incident of the violation of Pakistan's air space by the Soviet planes. The tribal regions of Pakistan, for a considerable period of time have been, and continue to be, the target of repeated bombing by the Soviets and the Afghans.

Under such circumstances, therefore, the essential thing was to remind the Soviet Union that if it did not forgive an amateur and courageous young German pilot for landing an ordinary Cessna aircraft in Moscow, and he was put behind bars for 4 years, why Pakistan, under this very principle, has not been given the opportunity to take action against its pilots. According to the independent means of reporting in Pakistan, many other helicopters also accompanied these two helicopters to Chitral. These people distributed hundreds of Kalashnikovs and other ammunition among the local residents. Prior to this also, the Soviet and Afghan helicopters have been coming to the regional areas of Pakistan to distribute ammunition, literature, and money. These incidents are not so simple as to interpret them as "being led astray from the right path." In fact, Pakistan is deliberately being weakened right now. An effort is being made to prove that there is no authority named as government in Pakistan. The Soviet Union anyway is a superpower, we cannot indulge in a clash with it. Now, however, efforts are being made to please India also. Last year when well-equipped armies were entrenched on both sides of the Indo-Pak border, the president went to Jaipur on "cricket diplomacy." Now the provincial leaders also have started to follow in his footsteps. We are in favor of the fact that Pakistan should maintain mutual good relations with its neighbors. But, we would certainly say that even for this purpose it is essential to pursue an honorable, prestigious, and dignified path. We believe that right now Pakistan's freedom and national integrity face severe dangers. However, these dangers should be met with courage and bravery. History bears witness to the fact that the freedom and survival of nations depend on their own strength. It has never happened that someone attained freedom through begging. Right now, instead of embracing others by lowering the eyes, we are in more need of strengthening our own nerves.

09779/09599

**Suggestions To Delay Local Elections Termed 'Improper'**

*46560004a Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 2 Oct 87  
p 10*

[Editorial: "Local Elections—Improper Suggestions"]

[Text] According to one newspaper report, the heads and councillors of several local bodies have suggested that the local elections should be held in March next year. It has also been informed that a memorandum from the mayors of 12 corporations has been sent to the president and the prime minister regarding this matter. The current sketch of the municipal system in the country was drawn during the martial law era. An enviable example

was set by holding local elections both in 1979 and 1983. The tradition of elections has not yet been firmly established in Pakistan, while, unfortunately, the perception that elections are postponed during a civil rule has intensified. However, the people expect from the current civil administration that by maintaining a good tradition of the martial law era, it would make it certain that the local elections are held on time. In 1983, the local elections were held at a time when the wounds of the MRD's violent campaign in Sind were still fresh. However, those circumstances were not made a pretext of postponing the local elections. Now that the situation is calm, and the institutions of the people's representation are performing their duties in a better manner, the demand of the heads and members of the local bodies that the local elections should be postponed until March does not seem much appropriate. Although they should be desirous of protecting their respective offices for some further period of time, nevertheless, the administration should not consider any such proposal that could cause delay in the elections since such a move could hurt the increasing confidence of the people in the current political process. The people should not be granted an opportunity to say that the present civil administration intends to create irregularity in the task that was performed regularly during the martial law regime. This is also an issue of honor for the administration. Furthermore, it is also a matter of establishing and promoting the current municipal system. Anyway, there should not be so much delay in the establishment of precincts and making other necessary arrangements, that the holding of timely elections becomes doubtful. The people are ready for them. The candidates participating in the forthcoming local elections have already started canvassing in their own respective favors. The task of publishing and displaying posters and banners also is being carried on quite enthusiastically. The administration, therefore, by now making an announcement for holding the elections, should interpret the people's yearnings.

09779/09599

#### **Government Urged To Hold Local Elections on Schedule**

46560003 Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 5 Oct 87 p 3

[Editorial: "Local Bodies Elections"]

[Text] Municipal elections are considered to be the foundation of democracy. In the developed countries great emphasis is placed on the growth and development of these institutions because future politicians and leaders get their basic training in these institutions before entering the political arena. In Pakistan, when the president wanted to restore democracy he first of all laid the foundation for holding local bodies elections. It is our misfortune that past governments paid very little attention to this and disregarded local bodies, as a result of

which the number of politicians enjoying the confidence of the people has been dwindling and the few remaining old politicians continue to do as they please in the field of politics.

Municipal elections were held twice during the martial law regime. As a result of these elections many new faces have emerged and, even though they are new, no one can deny their importance. Preparations are underway right now for holding new municipal elections. It would be much better if these elections were held without any delay so that people could appoint representatives they trust to look after the affairs of their local communities and approach their representatives for their needs. But it appears that the ruling party, for its own convenience, wants to postpone these elections or delay them. Even in the past rulers did as they pleased or postponed the elections under one pretext or another. But now that shouldn't be allowed to happen and municipal elections should be held as scheduled.

If municipal elections were held on time as planned, the country would not be facing a political crisis and no occasion for imposing martial law would have arisen, nor would anyone dare talk about dividing the country on regional or linguistic bases. It appears that the ruling party does not have the courage to announce the exact date for holding municipal elections. The party in power seems to be putting forward the reorganization of electoral constituencies as an excuse and gives other reasons for postponing the elections. MNAs [Member, National Assembly] and MPAs [Member, Provincial Assembly] are at war with one another to have their constituencies re-formed to their own liking. In reality, the responsibility for holding municipal elections should rest with an independent and neutral organization which should also be in charge of determining constituencies in accordance with rules and regulations. Nevertheless, people will fully participate whenever elections are held; at the same time, all the political parties in the country too will participate in the elections even if it means indirect participation.

Elections should be held in such a way that honest and sincere people are elected and the nation gains a clean leadership. Currently the capitalists and big landlords control the country and they have become leaders. Administrative affairs are in the hands of bureaucrats who were trained by the British. They are least interested in the survival and safety of the country, only in their own, and it is this attitude that has been responsible for calls of confederation and the creation of Sindhudesh and other slogans. The mistakes and shortcomings of civilian as well as military bureaucrats and other unfit rulers have already divided the country into two parts and the present day Pakistan too is engulfed by danger. The only way to save this country and preserve its independence is to inculcate a desire for holy war and a sense of nationalism in the young generation, which

should be brought face to face with true democracy and democratic values. Municipal elections constitute the first step in this direction provided they are fair and impartial.

During the past 40 years, every effort has been made to create ethnic tension in the country and satanic powers did their best to promote atheism, weaken democracy and incite prejudices. The rulers, getting the people involved in emotional slogans, strengthened their power and authority. The suppressed people are looking forward to constructive changes which can be brought about only by fair and impartial elections. People need correct, timely guidance. Our leaders, paying scant attention to the critical nature of the time, are engaged in mutual conflicts. The government and the administration, taking advantage of the situation, can try to do as they please and sway the results of the elections in their own favor. This should not be allowed to happen. The people should be allowed to choose their own representatives.

The workers of patriotic organizations should make every effort to foil the designs of anti-state elements. Further, even under adverse conditions they should continue their activities to end social evils. The helpless and weak people in the society should be provided assistance. Currently the country is in the midst of danger as a result of internal and external conspiracies. It is our first and foremost duty to accelerate our efforts to defeat the designs of conspiring powers. The untiring efforts of patriotic individuals have frustrated the designs of disruptive and anti-state elements. We, filled with a spirit of sacrifice, should see to it that elections are held successfully so that our elected representatives, fired with Islamic zeal and a spirit of sacrifice, will also do all in their power to introduce Islamic laws.

We not only hope that municipal elections will be held on time but that they will be conducted in a fair and impartial atmosphere so as to enable the people to elect representatives of their own choice who, thus elected, may serve the nation well. If an attempt is made to influence the elections, as was done during previous regimes, it will be bad for the government as well as the people. The people will be justified in concluding that the government, for the sake of its own convenience, is delaying elections purposely and wants to take advantage of the situation. We believe that the government will not under any circumstances like to create such an impression among the people; rather, it will take necessary steps to promote democracy so that people's aspirations are satisfied and the government earns their praise.

It is now up to the government to make its choice. It is to be seen whether it will choose the path of infamy and dishonor, which will make it impossible for it to achieve success, or whether it will choose the straightforward path of honesty and honor.

9315/9604

#### Asghar Khan's Action Seen Causing Party

##### Defections

46560004b Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 2 Oct 87  
p 10

[Editorial: "Defection From Tehrik-e Istimlal"]

[Text] The vice president of the Tehrik-e Istimlal (TI) and various other office-holders have resigned from their party due to a conflict with Air Marshall (Rtd) Asghar Khan's policy regarding Afghanistan. Although, this is an internal affair of the TI, and the Air Marshall (Rtd) and his colleagues would view the separation of their former associates as a source of further strengthening of the TI, the stand taken by Asghar Khan regarding the Afghanistan issue discards with Pakistan's national stand; not only that, the nationalist leaders and members of the TI had strongly opposed it. That is why, ever since Asghar Khan went to Afghanistan, his colleagues have started openly criticizing him. Now, an influential and active group has already separated from him. The state of the political parties in the country has not been enviable previously also.

Regarding organization, not a single political party can claim that it is fulfilling its true requisitions. Moreover, the process of divisions due to mutual differences is killing them further still. The work and services of Asif Vardag and his colleagues for the TI are well-known to everyone. A large number of political workers of the TI got separated from its previously. The separation of a new group and Asghar Khan's stand on the Afghanistan issue has strengthened the impression that his intelligent son has gained considerable success in making Asghar Khan's thinking submit to his revolutionary wisdom. Asghar Khan, in this regard, has not evaded sacrificing his colleagues also.

09779/09599

#### Steps Urged To Promote Science, Technology

46560005a Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 10 Oct 87  
p 10

[Text] Speaking to members of national and provincial assemblies in Hyderabad, Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo said he was determined to provide educational and research facilities at universities and jobs in the industrial sector. The prime minister pointed to a very significant fact, and that is that everything is going on at our educational centers except for education; all of the political parties are engaged in a race to set up strong groups of their own at the colleges and universities. As a result, the educational atmosphere has deteriorated sharply. The students are holding kalashnikovs instead of pens and books, their hostels are filled with arms and ammunition, and there are explosions almost every other day. When such is the state of education, where is there room for research and experiment? This is why our educational centers produce mere degree holders who in real life situations prove to be utter failures. What is still

more tragic is that there is a decline in the number of new industries being set up in the country and unemployment is spreading on a large scale. The urgent need is for the government and all of the political parties to agree on a code of conduct whereby they will save the educational institutions from such baneful influence. At the same time, our educational planners should formulate a strategy for producing doctors, scientists and technologists instead of clerks. Some of our doctors, engineers, scientists and technologists go abroad and perform wonders, so it is clear that there is no dearth of talent here. What is required is to show this talent the correct path. We should cast a glance at our neighbor India, where despite political conflicts and regional and racial tensions, work on national policies goes on and where especially in the field of science and technology, the young people enjoy greater opportunities for specialization. This process was initiated by Pandit Nehru, who with the cooperation of industrialists established top-quality scientific institutes and thus in his lifetime laid the foundations of Indian science. Hundreds of scientists and technologists graduate from these centers every year and serve countless institutions in the country. Because of its special interest in science, India ranks third in the world after America and Russia and provides scientists to the universities of these countries. Among the developing countries no one can match India in the field of science. There is no doubt that Pakistan too has promising minds, but there are no plans to make use of them; everyone is so involved in grinding his own axe that no one has time for formulating national policies. We should never forget that India is our one and only rival. We will not fight India on the battlefields of Wagah, Sialkot, or Rajasthan or Siachin alone, nor can today's battles be won based on the strength of horses and swords. If victory could be had by physical prowess, the brave Tartars of Central Asia would not have given in to anybody. But because of their intellectual backwardness and because they were involved in foolish pursuits, these people passed into permanent Russian slavery. This is the era of intelligence, the age of research and investigation. Today there is competition to reach new heights in technology, science, lasers and electronics. But here, our students believe that burning buses and puncturing or burning tires on roads are the zenith of education. The sad part is that there is not a single institution of science and technology worthy of the name, nor is anything being done to establish one. How fine it would be if the rulers and the politicians were to lessen their political din and by observing political silence for a month carry out an act of gratitude by devising plans for the betterment of posterity. The prime minister talks of providing jobs, but this promise cannot be made good unless there is progress in industrialization in the country, and industrial progress is conditional upon education in science and technology. To eliminate backwardness in our society it will be necessary simultaneously to eliminate backwardness in our science and technology. The private sector can also play an important role in this process. If

through the patronage and encouragement of the government and industrialists, our scientists, technologists and top engineers can set up top-level science and technology institutions, they will be rendering a great service to the country and the nation.

12286/9604

## SRI LANKA

### Eyewitness Accounts Given of Jaffna Violence

#### IPKF Commander Interview

46000021 New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English  
15 Nov 87 p 36

[Interview with Lt-General Depinder Singh, commander, IPKF in Sri Lanka, by S.H. Venkatramani, 29 October 1987, after trip to Jaffna: "There Were Constraints"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The overall commander of the IPKF in Sri Lanka is Lt-General Depinder Singh, 58. Masterminding Operation Pawan between Madras and Palaly, the General has so far avoided the press. But last fortnight, he made an exception for INDIA TODAY. After a quick dash to Jaffna on October 29, he discussed the IPKF's military strategy, Operation Pawan, and allegations of civilian deaths with Madras Correspondent S.H. Venkatramani. Excerpts:

Q. Why was the LTTE not disarmed by the IPKF under the accord's terms?

A. The charter of the IPKF was to maintain peace between the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE, not interfere in inter-militant-group clashes. So we were naturally very cautious. If the Sri Lankan Army could not disarm them in four years of fighting, how could we in a day? And we knew that if it came to taking their arms by force it would end in a military confrontation with them.

Q. What were the main hurdles that the IPKF faced in the battle for Jaffna?

A. Initially, there was a paucity of troops. When the battle broke out, there was only one brigade in the whole of the Jaffna peninsula. There was half a battalion at the front, one at Point Pedro and one west of Palaly. Actually we had not mobilised for war. And each battalion available had only 50 percent strength; people had gone on leave or for training. Secondly, the LTTE's use of civilians as human shields was a constraint. Thirdly, to avoid damage to civilian life and property we did not employ our full range of heavy weaponry.

Q. What weaponry did the IPKF use?

A. We used small arms and light mortars only. Later, when we encountered heavily fortified bunkers and resistance from concrete houses, tank guns were used only to knock out bunkers.

Q. What are the MI-24 helicopter gunships being used for?

A. There has been a great deal of to and fro movement from the Jaffna peninsula to the neighbouring islands and the mainland of Sri Lanka through the lagoons and shallow waters. This movement in the initial stages, brought in reinforcements of personnel and logistics and later on exfiltrated LTTE cadres from Jaffna. The gunships were used in the lagoon areas to interdict such movement. We used helicopters for carrying troops. But they came under sniper fire. So we had to give orders that they should bring down suppressive fire in turn. I wish to state, categorically, that we did not use offensive air power in the operation to free Jaffna town.

Q. But the helicopter gunships were used in Chavakacheri.

A. Yes. One or two helicopter gunships were used. But we had confirmed military intelligence that the Tigers were present in sufficient strength in Chavakacheri. Also, we had two companies of our soldiers east of Chavakacheri, but we met with strong resistance from the Tigers. So we were forced to use the gunships. We have only four or five helicopter gunships in Jaffna. There were admittedly a few civilian casualties in Chavakacheri, the death toll was 27.

Q. How much support did the tigers have from the local population?

A. The LTTE had been running the civil administration in Jaffna for the last few years. In the process, the civilians had been intimidated to toe the LTTE line. There were, of course, some active sympathisers, but I cannot believe that the vast majority also actively sympathised. There were instances where the LTTE instructed the local populace not to visit IPKF facilities to record complaints or seek medical assistance. Despite this admonition, the civil population continued to visit. Now that we have entered Jaffna there have been cases, gradually increasing in number, where civilians have volunteered information about the location of LTTE camps and caches. I can say with confidence that the vast majority of civilians are interested only in peace.

Q. Was the IPKF prepared or trained for the kind of urban guerrilla warfare involved in the operations?

A. Urban guerrilla warfare is a comparatively new phenomenon for the Indian Army. But given the professional competence of the junior leaders and the men's dedication, it didn't take long to understand the nuances of this type of environment and master them.

Q. Considering that many of the Tigers have escaped, what strategy will the IPKF adopt to protect the local population and counter the guerrilla war that is certain to continue?

A. At worst, it will involve deploying for a classic counter insurgency scenario. However, I am sanguine that cut off from the free use of Jaffna and its facilities, the LTTE will join the peace process. Our immediate stress is on relief, renovation, and rehabilitation.

Q. There have been allegations of heavy civilian casualties, and soldiers going berserk and raping women.

A. It has been our endeavour, at considerable risk to our officers and jawans, to keep damage of civilian property and life to the minimum. And, as the heavy casualties of our officers indicate, they have led from the front and therefore, the question of indiscipline just cannot hold water. For every two or three armed men, the LTTE has another two or three unarmed sympathisers. And in a fire fight, they take all their casualties to hospitals and register them all as civilians. I certainly think it dishonourable to pull out people from a house, line them up, and shoot them. We have not done that at all. But if soldiers return fire and direct it at a house from which they were fired upon, you can't accuse them of killing civilians. They can't distinguish between civilians and LTTE cadres in that house.

#### Photographer Recounts Battles

42000021 New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English  
15 Nov 87 pp 27-32

[Article by Shyam Tekwani, photographer; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] INDIA TODAY's Shyam Tekwani was the only photographer present in the combat zone at the height of the battle for Jaffna. Having been taken into Jaffna, skirting the advancing IPKF columns, by the LTTE, Tekwani was witness to actual battle scenes and obtained a unique insight into the Tigers, their morale, weaponry and tactics. His photographs reproduced on these pages are the only authentic pictures from the battlefield. Below is his eyewitness account of the five days he spent in the Tiger's den.

In their shorts or lungis, with beardless faces and bare feet, they look anything but battle hardened guerrillas who have taken on the might of the fourth largest army in the world. Many are barely in their teens, some are young women, none looks a day older than 30. Yet, the lethal weaponry they wield with such proficiency, the revolutionary zeal in their eyes, their intimate knowledge of the local terrain and their absolute disdain for death describe how they have managed to give the 20,000-strong IPKF such a run for its money.

Spending five days with the Tigers at the height of the battle, I saw sights that, despite the occasional brutality and callousness for human life the Tigers display, evoke reluctant respect. I saw one LTTE guerrilla, shot in the stomach, calmly swallow a cyanide capsule rather than hold up his companions in the battlefield. I saw a stunningly beautiful young woman standing proudly in the middle of the road with an AK-47 in one hand and a comb in the other. Their confidence and exuberance in the face of near-certain annihilation by a superior force are remarkable.

In the middle of an all-out war, it appeared unreal to hear them laughing and jabbering way like the kids they were. Ansar, 18, who drove me to the hideout where 18 Indian soldiers were being held captive, was apologetic about blindfolding me. As if to compensate, he entertained me with songs while he drove through the downpour for two hours. Nishantan's greeting accompanied with a huge smile was typical: "At last we are fighting for real," he said, as if their three-year battle with the Sri Lankan security forces had been just a warming up session.

At Kokuvil, where 13 Indian soldiers were killed, Babu, 18, and Keethan, 17, were arguing about who would go finish off the remaining two soldiers. I arrived barely minutes after the action, in time to witness a sight I hope never to see again—Tiger guerrillas, barefoot and in short pants, cutting down the two remaining Indian soldiers in a hail of gunfire. There was one very energetic and enthusiastic lad, totally unarmed, who scurried like a rat across the street every time an Indian soldier fell, to retrieve weapons and ammunition with no care for the bullets whizzing around. The overall mood was one of excitement and a sudden zest for the blood sport they have started to enjoy the most—killing.

At times, the scene was surreal, like a group of boys playing cops and robbers, the only difference being the bullets were for real. Occasionally, the blood lust came through, when they pulled out chocolates from the shirt pocket of a bloody corpse and passed them around while idly kicking at the remains of a human brain.

Not once did they give any sign that they were facing one of the most powerful armies in the world. In fact, it was just the opposite. "Any one of our Tiger cubs can take on the IPKF in man-to-man combat and defeat them," said one. Their confidence, after two weeks of fighting, comes from their conviction that the IPKF is untrained in the kind of urban guerrilla warfare that, for many Tigers, has been their whole life. The trademark cyanide phials are no longer worn inside their shirts but flaunted openly.

From October 24, when I met the Tigers at Vavuniya and asked them to take me to Jaffna and the combat zone, till October 28, when I finally left the peninsula, only once did we run into direct IPKF fire, at Chavakacheri, which was being strafed by helicopter gunships. That was adequate indication of how well they know

every single lane and by-lane, every lagoon and hiding place, and the effectiveness of their sophisticated communication network that gives them advance warning of any IPKF movement, unless it is a sudden attack from the skies.

Blindfolded, I was taken to the spot where 18 Indian soldiers are held captive. They are in chains, which are removed for my benefit. Seventeen are from the 8th Mahar Regiment and one from the Sikh Light Infantry. They look cheerful enough, perhaps because they have not heard the horror stories about the 'tyre treatment'—burning tyres put around the necks of captives. "We have been treated well, we eat what our captors eat and there has been no mistreatment," says Gora Singh of the Sikh Light Infantry. Perhaps they are being kept as a propaganda weapon to show the world—or India—that the Tigers are not the brutal terrorists they are being made out to be. Perhaps they may be already dead, victims of a war they know nothing about, executed by an enemy they have never had to face before.

On October 26, I was taken to meet the LTTE's Deputy Commander Mahattaya on the outskirts of Jaffna. When I arrived, I found him instructing his cadres on how to fight the IPKF. He looks like a large, cheerful businessman and nothing like the dreaded number two man in the Tiger hierarchy, next only to the man they call Thambi (younger brother), Velupillai Prabhakaran. His first question was straight to the point: "Are you here as an Indian or a journalist?" On being reassured that I was no spy, he spoke proudly about his boys and their heroics and bitterly about the Indian Government that he says has betrayed the Sri Lankan Tamils. "We will fight to the last man" he says, though he admits that if a cease-fire were offered by the IPKF, they would be willing to consider it, but under the LTTE's conditions. He turns to his boys, gives them rapid-fire instructions. Holding aloft three fingers, he intones: "Stealth, speed and surprise." With that, he sends them off cheerfully into battle.

There is no mistaking the complete identification of the Jaffna civilian with the LTTE fighters. But equally, there is no hatred for India, only criticism of the Indian Government and its representatives: High Commissioner J.N. Dixit in Colombo, and Rajiv Gandhi himself, who is referred to as the 'cub fox' while Jayewardene is the 'old fox.' The only occasion when the criticism became more bitter was immediately after the helicopter attack on Chavakacheri.

The real victims of an unreal war are the refugees. They were everywhere, fleeing on foot, on bicycles or hand carts or, for the luckier ones, in trucks, usually through drenching rain. At moments, it appeared that they really had no destination, merely wandering around in circles, anywhere, to escape the deadly sound of gunfire that has become their personal symphony since 1983. The

women wept silently as if the tears had run out. All had just one question to ask: When would this madness end? That is a question to which nobody can provide an answer.

**Indian Officers See More Difficulties**  
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[“Cover Story” by Dilip Bobb in Jaffna, with S.H. Venkatramani in Madras, and M. Rehman in Pune: “A Bloodied Accord”]

[Text] The western press corps currently congregated in Colombo have a name for it—they call it the Five O’clock Follies, the same sobriquet given to the regular press briefings by the US Army in Saigon during the Vietnam war. The comparison may be odious, but the daily 5 p.m. briefings at the new Indian High Commission chancery in Colombo on the Indian Army’s operations in Jaffna contained some chilling parallels. The disputed body counts, the territorial tug of war, an invisible enemy, and above all, the growing realisation that it is a war where victory and defeat can mean much the same.

Across the lushly-carpeted, lagoon-laced countryside of the Jaffna peninsula in northern Sri Lanka, the thunder of gunfire was slowly stilled last week. The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), after 16 days of battle in unfamiliar terrain, finally wrested control of the Tigers’ lair, the labyrinth of narrow, winding lanes and concealed bunkers that make up Jaffna town, the heavily fortified and thickly-populated stronghold of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

But Operation Pawan, as the IPKF’s activities in Sri Lanka is code-named, is a chapter of Indian military history that will contain none of the honour and glory of a victorious campaign. Notwithstanding the fact that the IPKF fought against daunting odds and under severe constraints, the “liberation” of Jaffna last week was essentially what one IPKF officer described as “a dirty little war, and that too by proxy.”

For two long weeks, the 20,000-strong IPKF, taken from the Indian Army’s 4th, 36th and 54th Divisions, slowly and steadily inched its way across the heavily-mined and booby-trapped areas around Jaffna. Through a withering fire-storm, their five-pronged operational axes (see map [omitted]) then linked up, enabling them to corner the 2,500-odd Tigers holed out in their Jaffna redoubt, many of them the same guerrillas that the Indian Army had obligingly trained in Tamil Nadu to combat the Sri Lankan security forces.

The irony has stretched to tragic dimensions. Despite its vastly superior numbers (INDIA TODAY sources put it as much as 30,000 apart from the paramilitary contingent), unlimited fire-power and acknowledged professionalism, the IPKF has suffered unexpectedly heavy

losses in the fortnight of fierce fighting. Officially, at the end of the 16-day siege of Jaffna, the IPKF admits to 214 dead, including 15 officers, two of them colonels. Another 36 soldiers are missing, captured and presumably killed by the Liberation Tigers, while over 700 IPKF personnel have been wounded in the action. Unofficially, however, army sources admit that the death toll in the first Indian Army operation that has taken place on foreign soil since 1975, could be closer to 400.

In military terms, those are somewhat inglorious statistics, but then, it was also an inglorious war. Less than three months earlier, the Indian Government sent it, at the request of Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene and under the stated terms of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord, a 6,000-strong army contingent that was, paradoxically, called the Indian Peace Keeping Force. The main brief was to provide protection to the Tamil-dominated population of Sri Lanka’s northern province. But only two months later, the IPKF suddenly found itself locked in incongruous combat with the LTTE, which is militarily the most powerful of the Tamil militant groups and which regards itself the self-appointed protector of the local Tamil population.

That tragic turnaround put the IPKF in an unenviable military position—facing guerrilla fighters, many barely in their teens including young women, in a heavily built-up and densely populated urban area already fortified and extensively mined during the three-year-old battle between the militants and Sri Lankan security forces. Admitted Lt-General Depinder Singh, general officer commanding, Southern Command and the overall force commander of the IPKF: “Urban guerrilla war is a comparatively new phenomenon as far as the Indian Army is concerned.” More important, the IPKF was hamstrung by their strict orders to avoid heavy civilian casualties and extensive damage to buildings. “Ours had to be a proportioned response. There was large-scale mining of the Jaffna area and almost every building was booby-trapped. The LTTE made extensive use of these buildings and used the civilian population as prophylactic protection. Our progress, therefore, was necessarily slow,” says Major-General A.S. Kalkat, director of military operations, Southern Command.

The IPKF, moreover, appears to have miscalculated not only on the fierce resistance put up by the Tigers but the extent of their weaponry as well. Every road leading into Jaffna was pitted with powerful Claymore mines or huge drums filled with explosives buried under the ground. The buildings were booby-trapped with highly sophisticated bombs that were capable of being detonated by remote or radio control from a distance of over a kilometre. In one such explosion that was set off under an army convoy, 29 IPKF personnel were blown up and an equal number were seriously wounded. The IPKF then requested for a regiment of T-72 tanks to counter the mines.

Apart from the mines, the highest number of IPKF casualties were from LTTE snipers located in buildings and even treetops, equipped with sophisticated, high-powered rifles with telescopic infra-red sights. At least five helicopters of the Indian Air Force were badly damaged by snipers when they were dropping troops in designated areas. Finally, the IPKF had to induct six armour-plated MI-24 helicopter gunships since none of the Mi-8s or Chetaks could fly below 2,000 ft without the risk of being shot at.

The extent and range of the LTTE arsenal made a mockery of the Indian Government's much-publicised arms surrender by the militants in early August. Arms caches were scattered all over the Jaffna area, many wrapped in waterproof packaging and secreted in the myriad lagoons that dot the countryside. The Tigers had a vat arsenal of Chinese-made AK-47 assault rifles, one of the most effective weapons in urban guerrilla warfare, Soviet-made RPG-7 anti-tank rockets, mortars firing 60 mm bombs and shoulder-fired rocket launchers. "They were not very accurate in their marksmanship but they fought like tigers," admits Brigadier Kulwant Singh, deputy divisional commander, Southern Command and one of the key strategists in the battle for Jaffna. The fiercest battles between the Indian Army and the Tigers were fought at Kopai North, Kokuvil and Kurruparal where the LTTE managed to stop the IPKF advance in its tracks. Says Havildar Raosaheb Gaekwad, 38, of the Maratha Regiment: "The people we were fighting were no more than kids. But they seemed to have unlimited ammunition. It was a constant barrage."

Over 100 paratroopers from the 1st Para who were dropped by helicopters on the night of October 11, in the open ground around the Jaffna University area were caught in a merciless crossfire and suffered the worst casualties of the entire operation. Unofficial sources say over 30 soldiers were killed and 18 soldiers taken prisoner.

Sepy Lok Ram, 38, of the 1st Para regiment was one of those wounded in the paradrop. Says he: "We thought everything was fine but when we were sliding out of the seventh helicopter, we suddenly came under heavy fire from all sides. It was an impossible situation as people would come out of the houses and fire at us and then disappear. There were gunmen on tree-tops, even on top of coconut trees. Since we were not using heavy weapons, it was impossible to advance. We were surrounded by an enemy we could not even see." The paratroopers were pinned down for 24 hours and were eventually rescued by Indian Army tanks which provided them cover to escape.

Major Anil Kaul, 40, of the armoured regiment, was the first officer to be wounded during the extensive deployment of tanks to rescue IPKF personnel who were cornered by the Tiger guerrillas. Says he: "The Tigers had a contradictory approach. Their movements, the

way they took fire, showed professional training. But their tactics were not those of a professional army. We were not fighting a uniformed enemy equipped with the same kind of weapons."

Though part of their training includes urban combat, the Indian Army's strategic planning has never included the kind of urban guerrilla warfare that Jaffna entailed. Says Havildar Kuldeep Singh of the Sikh Light Infantry, who was badly wounded in the face during the action: "We were pinned down for 12 hours by snipers firing at us from all sides. Five men from our unit died. It was very difficult. We have not been trained for this kind of battle—and we were also ordered not to use any heavy weapons."

The other handicap is their lack of knowledge of the local terrain. Eighteen IPKF soldiers who have been taken prisoner by the Tigers were forced to surrender after the convoy they were in lost its way. The last four trucks in the convoy got separated from the rest and were caught in a crossfire and pinned down. Of the 24 soldiers travelling in the trucks, five were killed and two were seriously wounded. The remaining 18 were forced to surrender after they ran out of ammunition.

The IPKF's problems were compounded by the fact that it was impossible to distinguish between the Tigers and the Tamil civilians. One senior officer entered a Jaffna house as part of the house-to-house search operations and found it empty except for a young woman. The moment he turned his back to leave, she whipped out a Sten gun and shot him in the back. Says Sepoy Govindan of the Madras Regiment: "It was impossible to say who was a Tiger and who was not. Everyone, male or female, above the age of 10, could be armed and dangerous. We saw little girls producing guns from under their frocks and shooting at us. How do you fight them?"

Very carefully, is the answer that most IPKF commanders reluctantly give. Says Brigadier Majit Singh of the 41st Infantry Brigade: "They are good fighting men, who are also very highly motivated. And we were fighting with one hand tied behind our backs." In their efforts to minimise damage to buildings and civilians, the IPKF's most powerful weapons were the 105 mm light field artillery, Carl Gustav rocket launchers and the 105 mm guns on their T-72 tanks. Admits Brigadier Kulwant Singh: "We were fighting under constraints that we are not used to."

The turning point in the battle for Jaffna came when the IPKF, under Colonel 'Tippy' Brar, broke out of the Old Dutch Fort area on October 20 after being cornered for over two days, to link up with the other advancing columns of the Indian force and effectively seal off the Nallur area where the Tigers were concentrated.

On October 26, Jaffna fell to the IPKF and the guns were silenced, but the war is far from over. To date, the IPKF claims to have killed over 700 Tigers but, as Major-General Kalkat admits: "We have no actual count since we were busy in advancing and not stopping anywhere to count bodies. All I can say is that their losses were much higher than ours."

But even if their estimates are approximate, the total Tiger strength in Jaffna was estimated at around 2,500, apart from the sympathisers and collaborators from among the local population. In fact, it has been established that many teenagers actually joined the LTTE while the battle was ranging and INDIA TODAY actually met a number of young women LTTE fighters bristling with lethal weaponry. The IPKF claims to have taken around 80 Tigers prisoner, which means that at least 1,500 Tigers have managed to evade the IPKF noose and mingle with the locals or have escaped to other areas. LTTE chief Pirabhakaran and other key leaders like Dilip Yogi, Anton Balasingham and the Jaffna commander Mahattaya are believed to have slipped out of Jaffna to regroup in one their many hideouts in the Mannar, Batticaloa, and Vadamarachi areas.

The Indian Army's miscalculation of the tigers strength and resistance has already had its first casualty in the form of Major-General Harkirat Singh, the man initially put in charge of Operation Pawan. Because of his inability to take over Jaffna quickly, as originally anticipated. Harkirat was made the scapegoat and replaced by Kalkat.

But having lost total faith in the Indian Government and engaged in combat with the IPKF, the Tigers are certain to carry on their guerrilla war using the hit-and-run tactics similar to terrorists in Punjab. The only difference is that they will be facing the Indian Army who privately admit that they could be bogged down in northern and eastern Sri Lanka for at least another two years. In fact, according to top level defence sources, the Indian Army is in the process of setting up a reserve Southern Command headquarters sector in northern Sri Lanka under Lt-General Khajuria, a former director of Military Intelligence, which obviously means they are prepared to stay around for some time.

Despite the fact that the Indian Army is now left with no southern reserve divisions and at least 30,000 Indian troops will be tied up in Sri Lanka for an indefinite period, that strategy is inevitable. Like the Sikh terrorists in Punjab, the Tigers know the terrain intimately and can mingle with the local population without detection. Whether out of fear or sympathy, they also have the support of the local population. Also, despite the Indian Navy's blockade of the Palk Straits, a number of boats have managed to slip through the cordon and reach the Tamil Nadu coastline. That could also mean that boats carrying arms and ammunition can still get through to the Tigers. In any event, the Tigers seem to have no

shortage of ammunition at the moment. The LTTE's Jaffna commander and currently the number two man after Pirabhakaran, Mahattaya, told INDIA TODAY last week: "We are short of weapons though we have plenty of ammunition. But the IPKF is fooling itself if it thinks it has cut off our supply lines."

There are also signs that the LTTE will link up with the outlaws Sinhalese extremist group, the JPV, which has been responsible for a number of recent killings and bomb explosions in south Sri Lanka, including the one that almost killed President Jayewardene and key members of his cabinet last August. Similarly, the powerful bomb that ripped through the office of the assistant high commissioner of India at the tourist reports of Kandy in southern Sri Lanka last week is one indication of the Tigers' capability to strike at Indian targets outside the northern and eastern provinces either on their own or in collaboration with the JVP.

The IPKF's immediate goal in the north is to isolate the LTTE leadership from the cadres or wipe them out in the belief that the less committed members will surrender under the terms of the amnesty they are being offered. That, however, could be wishful thinking. None of the key leaders, specially Pirabhakaran, will allow themselves to be taken alive. If cornered, they will almost certainly swallow the cyanide capsules that is their trademark. Pirabhakaran as a martyr to the Eelam cause is as potent as Pirabhakaran alive.

However, Mahattaya told INDIA TODAY on October 27: "We will be willing to a cease fire under three conditions. The Indian Army should cease-fire immediately, the IPKF should return to the camps where they were prior to October 10, and only then will we be willing to talk about surrender of arms." However, those are conditions that the Indian Government will obviously not agree to. Nor is it clear whether Mahattaya is speaking for a section of the LTTE or even Pirabhakaran.

In any event, the task before the Indian Government is to win over the local population in northern Sri Lanka. The Indian Government is already flooding Jaffna with food and medicines. It will also undertake a crash programme to rebuild damaged houses, as well as set up projects to ensure employment for the local population. Last week, in an attempt to bring about normalcy and get the economic wheels moving again, Indian doctors and government engineers were flown in to restore essential services like hospitals, electricity, water-supply and food distribution. This will be followed by all-out efforts to set up the ill-fated interim administration and raise a Tamil police force for the north.

But the success or failure of that mission will largely depend on the kind of damage there has been to civilian property and the number of civilian deaths during Operation Pawan. IPKF sources claim that civilian casualties were unavoidable considering the type of war they had to

fight, but insist that the numbers are minimal. However, many independent reports from Jaffna have spoken about large-scale civilian deaths but in the welter of propaganda and counterpropaganda being put out by the Indian Government and the Tigers, it is impossible to establish the truth. Certainly, INDIA TODAY was eyewitness to one incident when Mi-24 helicopter gunships bombed and staffed the town of Chavakacheri, 32 km east of Jaffna and 20 civilians were killed. The Indian Government first denied that helicopter gunships were being used in an offensive operational role. Once it became clear that the eyewitness reports would appear in the Indian press, they finally admitted that the incident had taken place but still claim that it is the only one of its kind. They also claimed that only an "isolated building" where suspected Tigers were hiding had been shelled. INDIA TODAY was witness to the fact that shells had launched in the main marketplace and the main bus stand where large numbers of civilians had gathered.

The Tigers, in their propaganda war from Jaffna, claimed that over 200 civilians have been killed by the IPKF and numerous buildings, including the Jaffna Hospital, destroyed. The Catholic Church in Jaffna has put the number of civilian deaths at 100. Some western journalists who entered Jaffna after the battle started, have returned with horror stories of IPKF troops going berserk after their comrades were killed and accused them of shooting innocent people and of raping Tamil women. The tigers refer to the IPKF as the Innocent People Killing Force.

Till the Indian Government started flying in journalists and photographers into Jaffna, the Tigers were clearly winning the propaganda war. The only way for journalists to enter Jaffna was with the LTTE. It is difficult to establish whether the so-called victims of IPKF atrocities were tutored by the Tigers or were genuine. Jaffna Hospital, which the Tigers claimed was bombed by the IPKF, was free from any major damage when journalists were taken there last week.

Certainly, judging by the ferocity of the action, civilian deaths would have been impossible to avoid. But on the other hand, the Indian Army is not a rag-tag indisciplined outfit like the Sri Lankan security forces. It is a highly professional and disciplined force that has been compared to the best in the world. Says Lt-General Depinder Singh: "I cannot believe that Indian troops will ever go berserk to the extent of raping or killing women as it is against our ethos and our culture. Further, as the heavy casualties to our officers and JCO's indicate, they led from the front and therefore the question of indiscipline just does not hold water."

Yet, there can be no denying that the local Tamil population currently views the IPKF with suspicion and even hatred, though they also see them as tools in a larger geo-political strategy. Says Dilip Yogi, one of the top LTTE leaders: "We do not blame Rajiv but his advisers who are misleading him on the situation. We do not

blame the Indian soldiers, they are only carrying out orders. But we will never surrender. We can keep fighting for another 10 or 20 years. For every Tiger killed, another is born."

Clearly, the IPKF has an unenviable task ahead and in private, senior army officers are already making comparisons with Vietnam and Afghanistan. But that is more the fault of South Block than the soldiers who are merely carrying out the orders of their political bosses. The Indian Government's main bungle was in not disarming the militants when they had the chance immediately after the signing of the accord. IPKF officers say they were instructed to turn a blind eye to the arms that the militants had cached away or were even openly flaunting. Obviously, New Delhi had been overconfident of handling "the boys."

New Delhi's next and most serious blunder was in their attempts to cut the LTTE down to size and prop up the other rival militant groups in the classic political strategy of divide and rule. "The idea was to reduce the dominance of the Tigers since the other groups were under our control and thus ensure that the interim administration and the provincial council had more people who would abide by Delhi's directives," says a senior intelligence source. But that strategy backfired when the groups engaged in a bloody internecine battle which left hundreds dead and a larger number of civilians killed in massacres. That one aspect alone destroyed the image of the IPKF as a force that would ensure security for the Tamil population, and the Tigers played on that with considerable effectiveness.

Now, having taken Jaffna with such heavy cost—an estimated Rs 3 crore a day in terms of money, apart from the loss of lives—the politicians are once again back in the game. New Delhi's strategy is to fully disarm the militants, a near-impossible task, and win over the local population by ensuring that:

- there is no colonisation by the Sri Lankan Government in the eastern province;
- Tamil refugees in India are returned to Sri Lanka as early as possible;
- the devolution package envisaged in the accord is fully implemented;
- the merger of the northern and eastern provinces under one administrative unit takes place;
- a Tamil police force is set up as quickly as possible; and
- Tamils are permitted to enrol in the Sri Lankan Army.

Says an Indian High Commission source: "We have extracted all these assurances from the highest levels of the Sri Lankan Government. If Colombo reneges on any of the conditions, they are in worse trouble than before. With 20,000 Indian troops sitting in the country, it will lead to another Cyprus-type division. We are confident that Jayewardene will not allow that to happen."

Fortunately for New Delhi, the reaction in Tamil Nadu to the IPKF offensive against the Tigers has been muted. In a recent poll in the state, 67 percent of those interviewed said that Rajiv had not let down the Tamils. A majority also believed that the LTTE was responsible for starting the trouble and that the IPKF should stay on in Sri Lanka. The Karunanidhi-led opposition DMK has, however, launched a massive protest campaign against the IPKF offensive that would snowball in coming days. Says party President M. Karunanidhi: "We will continue our agitation till the Indian Army stops its actions in Jaffna." Adds party General Secretary K. Veeramanci: "The Mossad stood to gain by their actions in Sri Lanka. The Indian Government, on the other hand, is spending Rs 3 crore every day of the taxpayer's money for their operations."

But the fact that the major offensive against the Tigers is over could blunt the thrust of the anti-IPKF movement, unless, of course, there are confirmed reports of large-scale civilian killings by the IPKF. In any case, if Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran, currently undergoing medical treatment in distant Baltimore, puts his weight behind the Indian Government, public opinion in Tamil Nadu will remain subdued. Rajiv in fact met MGR in New York last fortnight and is believed to have solicited his full support.

The danger is that with the LTTE having lost Jaffna—a major psychological defeat—New Delhi might be tempted to ignore them altogether in their future negotiations on the composition of the interim administration and the provincial councils. That may prove another fatal mistake. The LTTE may have lost much sympathy for its intransigence and brutality, but the Tigers are still seen in northern Sri Lanka as the only people who gave their lives to protect the Tamils against the Sri Lanka security forces when other groups like the Tamil United Liberation Front were safely ensconced in Colombo or Tamil Nadu.

But the key issue is that with the most dominant Tamil group having taken on the Indian Army, the accord itself could be the biggest casualty. The tigers have resumed their battle for Eelam and thus rejected the accord. Jayewardene stated last fortnight that the elections to the provincial councils in the northern and eastern provinces will only take place "after the complete cessation of

hostilities, the surrender of all arms and other weapons in the hands of the terrorists and the resettlement of all those who had been displaced owing to violence."

By even the most conservative estimates, to fulfill any of those conditions will take at least a year, at most, forever. Under the terms of the accord, elections to the provincial councils were to be held within three months, that is, October 29, or, "in any event before 31st December." That is now clearly impossible and the actual elections could be stalled indefinitely. Further, Indian negotiators are now unlikely to even consider the LTTE in any future provincial council set-up, which will rob it of much of its credibility in the eyes of the Tamil people.

Already, in Colombo, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party leader Srimavo Bandaranaike has challenged the constitutionality of the Provincial Council Bill in the Supreme Court. The bill, in any case, requires a two-thirds majority in parliament to become part of the constitution. That step could now prove a major hurdle with the anti-accord JVP having started a terror campaign against ruling party MPs, having already killed three and, in other cases, members of their families. Under that kind of threat, their support for the bill is in serious question.

However, Jayewardene, by staying away from the Vancouver Commonwealth meeting, has demonstrated that he means to stick by the accord and use all his considerable political guile to keep his party and cabinet in line. For him, considering the widespread opposition to the accord by the majority Sinhalese, the accord was as much of a gamble as it was for Rajiv. "The average Sinhalese may be gloating over the fact that we are doing their dirty work for them, but the fact is that Jayewardene is determined to ensure the accord works, however long it takes to implement," says an Indian High Commission source in Colombo.

But so far, none of the initial clauses of the accord—the lifting of the emergency conditions in the north and east, the provincial council elections and the interim administration, disarming the militants—has been implemented. If the Tigers continue to hold out against the IPKF, which is more than likely, the accord could collapse by default. The IPKF may have cleared one dangerous minefield but another, infinitely more dangerous one, lies ahead.

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